IDENTITY THREAT AND COPING STRATEGIES AMONG HIGHLY STIGMATISED SEXUAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

Thesis submitted by Yasin Koc to the University of Sussex for qualification of

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology.

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DECLARATION

The thesis conforms to an 'article format' in which the middle chapters consist of discrete articles written in a style that is appropriate for publication in peer-reviewed journals. The Introduction chapter presents the background, the research questions, and theoretical framework used across four papers. The Discussion chapter presents an overview of the findings, and strengths, novelties, limitations of the current work along with a discussion of future directions. I wrote these chapters and improved them with the feedback provided by Dr Vivian Vignoles (the main supervisor). Paper 1 has been published in the *British Journal of Social Psychology*. Paper 2 is currently submitted for publication in a journal in the field of psychology and sexuality. Paper 3 and Paper 4 were written in article formats for submission to psychology journals. I came up with the research ideas, prepared the initial research design, completed the data collection and the analysis, and wrote up the manuscripts. Dr Vivian Vignoles provided feedback and contributed his ideas to the research designs, analyses, and writing and improving the manuscripts.

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:……..

University of Sussex

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

Identity threat and coping strategies among highly stigmatised sexual and ethnic minorities

SUMMARY

Through a series of four studies using qualitative, correlational, and experimental methods, this thesis identifies sources of identity threat in sexual and ethnic minorities in Turkey, where these identities are highly stigmatised and subject to ongoing prejudice, and examines coping strategies and their implications for well-being. In Paper 1, extending previous qualitative findings, I show using structural equation modelling that identifying as a 'global citizen' helps gay men integrate their incompatible sexual (gay) and gender (male) identities in a traditional society, and this increased gay-male identity integration predicts higher well-being. In Paper 2, I substantiated these findings with an experiment, whereby participants primed with pro-globalisation worldviews increased their identification as global citizens, which then increased their gay-male identity integration. Here, I also found that access to gay-affirmative social spaces, where gay men can express their identity comfortably, also helps increase gay men's well-being. In Paper 3, I present findings from an interview study with Kurdish ethnic minority members from Turkey, identifying key sources of identity threat for this group as well as key coping strategies that might form a basis for potential interventions to improve well-being. Finally, in Paper 4, I tested one of these coping strategies–collective ethnic nostalgia–investigating its effects on identity motives at personal and group levels, and on well-being; here, I

discuss potential reasons why collective nostalgia may fail to serve as a psychological resource for coping in a highly threatened group. Together, these studies contribute to the developing social psychological literatures on identity threat and coping, multiple identities, identity motives, and nostalgia. Moreover, they provide practical implications regarding how the well-being of stigmatised minority group members could be improved with bottom-up coping strategies, in contexts where minority group rights are not ensured by legal protection.

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INTRODUCTION

Feeling too close to an undesired possible identity is worse for well-being than feeling far from a desired possible identity.

Oyserman & James (2011, p. 140)

In an ideal world, one would hope that everyone would be treated equally, and one's right to be whoever they want would meet with respect, and also be protected by law. However, today it is not difficult to acknowledge that we are living in a world far from the ideal, and there are millions of individuals in the world who are stigmatised because of their ethnicity, religion, colour, language, gender, sexuality, height, weight, occupation, and so on. When people ask themselves "who am I?" and when they get asked by others "who are you?", their answers may not always be the same. I believe when there is a discrepancy between an individual's answers to these questions, it might have a negative impact on their own sense of self, and on their well-being. There will be circumstances restricting people from expressing who they feel they are, and these circumstances will threaten their identities. But once threatened, some people will not surrender. Instead, they will strive to reclaim their identities. They will find ways to cope with whatever threatens their sense of who they are and who they want to be. This is what I was personally interested in researching in my PhD project. Using this knowledge, it may be possible to inform people how they can empower themselves.

Accordingly, I am interested in two broad questions. First, what *threatens* people's identities? Second, what are the ways people can cope with this threat? I am not the first person to pose these questions, but I aimed to answer these questions in

previously unexplored yet important samples from Turkey: gay men, and ethnically Kurdish people. These two groups have at least two common characteristics: they are both highly stigmatised minority groups, and their voices were not heard much before. Personally, I am interested in studying these two identities, because I grew up in Turkey observing members of both groups facing stigma in their daily lives. I believe this thesis can help voice their own experiences of stigma, how they find meaningful ways to deal with the stigma, and manage to maintain satisfactory senses of who they are.

What is Identity?

First of all, I have to start with a definition of identity. One definition of identity proposes that "identity refers to how people answer the question, 'Who are you?'" (Vignoles, in press, p. 1). This provides a comprehensive definition of identity because the answer may potentially involve all aspects one's self-image represented in one's own cognition, emotion, and discourse (Vignoles, 2011), as well as involving other social elements. In particular, Breakwell (2014a) proposes that "identity will encompass elements that are dynamically derived from every aspect of the person's experience—social category membership, interpersonal relationships, social representational exposure, individual activity and observation and so on" (Breakwell, 2014a, p. 24). Therefore, when I refer to identity in this thesis, it could be understood as a total identity potentially encompassing both personal and social identity elements and processes.

There are several theories that may help us understand identity processes. In this thesis, I mainly focus on threatened identities, and related coping mechanisms.

Therefore, I use Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 1986) and its extension, Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011), as my main theoretical frameworks. Both IPT and MICT highlight the importance of dynamic processes where individuals continually construct and maintain their identities by responding to threatening situations. Moreover, they emphasise the importance of motivational principles underlying identity construction and maintenance, and provides an integrative theoretical framework. Both theories claim that people strive for certain forms of identities, and avoid others. Motivational principles facilitate and guide certain processes to help people attain and enact their identities by continually reconstructing them.

IPT is closely linked to and benefits from two other major theories that help us understand identity and intergroup processes, namely Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and Social Representations Theory (SRT; Moscovici, 1988). SIT proposes that social identities are products of one's membership of a social group, and the value and meaning attached to this membership (Tajfel, 1978). People strive to maintain positive social identities, and they are motivated to achieve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Breakwell (2014a) suggests that these social identities in the SIT tradition are accepted as identity elements in the IPT tradition, and therefore IPT claims to complement and even incorporate SIT. However, IPT avoids creating a distinction between social and personal identities, and ultimately identity is recognised as *both* personal *and* social (Breakwell, 2014a; Vignoles, in press). Breakwell (2014a) claims that the personal and social dichotomy is indeed counter-productive, especially when trying to understand the dynamism of identity development over life-span (see Pehrson & Reicher, 2014, for a contrasting

view). At this point, Breakwell (2014b) acknowledges the influence of social representations on IPT.

In the SRT tradition (Moscovici, 1988), social representations can be defined as both products and processes. Social representations, as a product, include widely shared sets of beliefs that are used to explain and evaluate social phenomena. As a process, social representation refers to the entire activity of understanding, interpreting, and making sense of these social events and changes in people's environments. While social representations confer meaning and value to people's experiences, individuals also have power to reproduce and transform the social representations. In other words, "social representations populate the realm of possible identity content and evaluation" (Breakwell, 2014b, p. 128), and individuals actively experience and interpret these social representations in their lives. In IPT terms, this implies that how individuals respond to these representations are then linked to whether these representations will threaten their identities or secure the unimpeded operation of the identity processes and satisfaction of motivational principles. In short, I follow the argument that "identities are inescapably both personal and social—not only in their content, but also in the processes by which they are formed, maintained, and changed over time" (Vignoles, in press, p. 2). IPT provides a comprehensive framework to understand the mutual relationship between identity processes and social representations, and therefore it is well suited for my research questions.

Social Identity Theory as an Antecedent for IPT

As Breakwell (2014a) suggests that IPT complements and even incorporates SIT, it is worth noting the basic principles of SIT before discussing identity in terms of IPT. SIT proposes that social identities are a part of an individual's self-concept driven from their knowledge of being a member of a social group, and individuals attach value and emotional significance to this membership (Tajfel, 1978). People are motivated to identify with social groups to derive *positive distinctiveness* – in other words, a positive self-concept mostly in an intergroup context in relation to other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, people may not always easily achieve positive distinctiveness or they might be members of certain stigmatised groups, which undermines their positive distinctiveness. Accordingly, they might engage in certain *identity management strategies* to deal with the negative social identity.

The first strategy is related to social mobility, and called *individual mobility* – attempting to dissociate oneself from the group and move to a more positively distinct group pursuing individual goals – and this is possible when group boundaries are permeable and the group members can exit the group or can achieve *passing* by making others believe that they are something that they actually are not when the stigma is less visible. The other two strategies are related to social change, and individuals are more likely to engage in them when the group boundaries are not permeable. In the absence of cognitive alternatives (i.e., group status is not likely to change), individuals are more likely to engage in *social creativity* whereby they may try to find a new comparison dimension with another group or redefine the value of existing comparison dimension. If there are cognitive alternatives available (i.e.,

there is a possibility to challenge the status quo), they are more likely to engage in *social competition* strategy whereby they may fight for civil rights and political revolution. Although social identity theory initially focused on identity maintenance strategies at the intergroup level for maintaining positive distinctiveness, subsequent research also focused on the importance of intragroup processes. For instance, Breakwell (1986) added group support to this list in the form of social networks.

Most research in the social identity tradition later on put more emphasis on the positive than the distinctive for the identity maintenance. Abrams and Hogg (1988) tested the self-esteem hypothesis that people identify with group to feel good about and positive about themselves. However, people strive for more than only self-esteem while constructing their identities (Vignoles, 2006; Vignoles, in press). Accordingly, Breakwell (2014a) claims to have built on the basic principles of SIT and extended it in her conceptualisation in IPT (Breakwell, 1986). For instance, positive distinctiveness as a motivational principle was extended into more motives in IPT such as self-esteem, distinctiveness, and continuity (which will be unpacked later). In this thesis, I decided to use IPT as an integrative framework of identity motives particularly for its focus on identity threat and coping at the intrapersonal level rather than identity maintenance at the intergroup level.

Identity Process Theory and Motivated Identity Construction Theory

Breakwell (1986) proposes that the structure of identity should be conceptualised in terms of two interrelated dimensions: content and value. The content dimension includes all the identity elements that a person can use to express who they are. Every identity element in this content dimension is then potentially

associated with both positive and negative values. For instance, while being a gay man can be included in the content dimension of a person's identity, how they appraise this identity content may vary depending on the social context and how they align themselves in relation to this context.

Let's think about a young man in Turkey named Mehmet. Mehmet grew up in a big family with traditional cultural and religious values. For him, homosexuality was incompatible with the two main value structures he was strongly holding. In terms of religion, he thought homosexuality was condemned by God, and all homosexuals were sinners. In terms of cultural values, he knew that being a real man required one to be heterosexual. There were three stages one had to go through to achieve manhood: circumcision, which is celebrated with a big party, being a soldier, which is celebrated with a big party, and marrying a woman, which is also celebrated with a big party. At the age of 19, Mehmet realised that he was no longer attracted to women; instead, he was attracted to his male best friend at university. This was the first time he was confronted by himself on his own views. At first, it was a challenge for Mehmet to accept that he could be gay. All he knew was that homosexuality was only about sex, homosexuals were all sinners, and the only visible homosexual men were effeminate men and drag queens on TV. When Mehmet looked at himself on the mirror, he did not look like one of them. He also knew that most people in his society humiliated gay men, and gay men were highly stigmatised. It would not be easy for him to accept this new identity element.

For Mehmet, being gay was a new identity element for the content dimension of his identity structure. Initially, he was in denial. He wanted to hide and change

this identity, because he associated this new content with negative values. His perceptions and the societal representations of homosexuality were not positive. However, as IPT suggests, identity is open to reappraisal and revision. Accordingly, over time, Mehmet came to terms with his new identity content, and he accepted that he was gay.

This change happens when the identity structure is regulated by two universal dynamic processes: assimilation/accommodation, and evaluation. *Assimilation/accommodation process* manages to incorporate the new information into one's identity while making room for the new content, whereas *evaluation* process gives a new meaning to this new identity content, hence determining its new value. For Mehmet, it took a while to accommodate this new information in his identity, because a lot of his ideas about who he was needed to change. He first endorsed his gay identity by changing his alignment with the societal perceptions of homosexuality in the assimilation/accommodation process. For him, homosexuality no longer meant 'perversion' or 'sinful acts' because he learnt that it was a sexual orientation when he researched about it. Then he valued his gay identity by associating it with positive affect in the evaluation process.

IPT suggests that the operation of these two universal processes is guided by some guiding principles, also known as *identity motives*. Identity motives are tendencies towards desirable states for the structure of one's identity, and the two processes operate in accordance with these motives to construct and maintain a satisfactory sense of identity. Extending the focus on positive distinctiveness within SIT tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Breakwell (1986) initially proposed three

motives identity motives, namely continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, and later on added efficacy motive (Breakwell, 1993). *Continuity* refers to one's sense of connectedness between their past, present, and future, and across situations. *Distinctiveness* refers to one's sense of uniqueness and distinctiveness from others. *Self-esteem* refers to feelings of personal worth. *Efficacy* refers to feeling competence and being in control. Breakwell (2014a) argued that the list of motives has never been exhaustive, and IPT is flexible to accommodate new motives as long as every motive increases the explanatory power of the theory. Later on, other researchers contributed to this list of motives. For instance, Vignoles (2011) added motives for belonging and meaning, whereby *belonging* refers to acceptance and inclusion by others, and *meaning* refers to experiencing one's life as meaningful. Satisfaction of these motives is crucial for the unimpeded operation of the identity processes; however, frustration of any of these motives *threatens* the identity.

In the case of Mehmet, he always had clear ideas about who he was, and what to do in order to maintain his sense of self. This new information of him being gay was not compatible with his ideas about who he was; hence, his identity was threatened. For example, he always thought he would get married to a woman and have a family, but this was no longer plausible; so his sense of continuity was undermined. He also thought that he would always be accepted by his family and close friends, but now, he knew that they would exclude him if they found out he was gay, which undermined his sense of belonging. He also thought he would have a unique respected career, but now he feared everyone in society would know about his sexual identity, and would shame and stigmatise him, which would in turn undermine his sense of distinctiveness as well as making him negatively distinct.

Taken together, with the frustration of his identity motives, Mehmet was not only feeling far from his desired possible identity, he was also getting closer to an undesired possible identity which was threatening his sense of who he was and who he wanted to be. According to IPT, when identity is threatened, individuals engage in coping strategies to alleviate the threat (Breakwell, 1986).

The aim of a *coping mechanism* is to remove or modify the threat to the identity (Breakwell, 1986). Breakwell (1986, 1988) suggests that people may engage in three levels of coping strategies. Coping can take place at the intrapsychic level, whereby an individual revises the identity structure by involving the assimilation/accommodation and evaluation processes. Coping can also happen at the interpersonal level, whereby an individual changes their relationships with others. And finally, coping occurs at the intergroup level when an individual changes their relationship with others at the group level. These coping mechanisms build and extend on the positive distinctiveness strategies in the SIT tradition: individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The central assumption in SIT is that individuals are motivated to achieve positive distinctiveness because they strive for a positive self-concept. One possible underlying reason for positive distinctiveness strivings is that people want to enhance their self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Therefore, they engage in these positive distinctiveness strategies. However, IPT and MICT are not only concerned with positive distinctiveness or how it serves to enhance self-esteem. Coping aims to restore the satisfaction of all six motives (Vignoles, 2011); therefore, a wide range of processes that may remove the frustration of these motives and help satisfy them may count as coping mechanisms.

For Mehmet, after his continuity was undermined, he realised he could become a couple with a man, and this would not mean discontinuity. The social contexts he always knew told him that a marriage was between a man and a woman, and a family could only be formed with a marriage. Now Mehmet thought a family could be formed by two men, and this does not necessarily require a marriage. Similarly, Mehmet restored his sense of belonging by making friends with people who would accept him as who he was. He also reclaimed his distinctiveness by deciding to become a successful scientist, rather than having another job, without the potential stigma of being outed and shamed. Mehmet managed to revise the meaning of what these identity motives prescribed him as the guiding principles, and hence he was able to assimilate and accommodate this new information of being a gay man in his identity, and re-evaluate it as something positive. Breakwell (1986) suggests that different identity threats entail different coping mechanisms, and some coping mechanisms are more effective than others. In this case, reconceptualization was more rewarding for Mehmet than when he was initially in denial trying to hide this identity.

Vignoles (2011) argues that identity is constantly reconstructed, and threat does not need to be subjectively experienced. A potential threat can also evoke action, and if the coping mechanisms are effective, they can alleviate the threat without it being manifest at conscious level (Breakwell, 2014a). This happens because the six identity motives have three characteristics in common (Vignoles, in press). First, "people typically will desire and strive for forms of identities that satisfy these motives, but dislike and try to avoid those forms that frustrate them. Second, situations where these motives are frustrated will lead to intensified

strivings to satisfy them. Third, motive satisfaction typically has positive implications, whereas frustration typically has negative implications for psychological well-being (p. 12).” Mehmet specifically focused on restoring frustrated identity motives, and engaged in coping behaviour to strive for forms of identities that satisfied these motives. Eventually, he benefitted from the positive consequences of this reconstruction for his well-being.

The whole process of identity reconstruction required Mehmet to reconstrue some of his ideas about societal perceptions of what gay meant. He as an individual interpreted his experience, and assimilated its implications into his identity (Breakwell, 2014). This would probably be impossible for Mehmet if he did not have other contexts available to him when he was interpreting his experience. His views of homosexuality furnished by his cultural and religious background were not compatible with his new identity element. However, Mehmet had been abroad before while he was coming out to himself. He had contact with other cultures where being gay was socially accepted and was not only associated with negative attributes. Being gay was more than a sexual role, and even gay marriage was legal in some countries in the world. Beyond the limitations of his cultural, national, and religious identities and their implications on his life, Mehmet had a connection to the global world, which enabled him to restore his frustrated identity motives. The content of his identity was the same: he was gay, but he was no longer close to an undesired possible identity. The more he identified himself as a global citizen, he was feeling closer to a desired possible identity. Global identification was therefore his coping mechanism which alleviated the threat on his identity, and enabled him to incorporate this new identity element into his identity structure.

Mehmet's experience is a typical example of what Meyer (1995) defines as minority stress in his work with sexual minorities. *Minority stress* refers to the psychosocial stress derived from one's minority status, and in this case, it refers to the gay identity. In his initial work, Meyer (1995) conceptualised minority stress to have three elements: internalised sexual prejudice, perceived stigma, and experience of prejudice. He found that these elements together predicted higher demoralisation, higher guilt, higher suicide ideation, more sexual problems, and higher AIDS-related anxiety. Since then, a line of research has consistently shown that prejudice and stigma around LGBT people create unique stressors for the members of this group, and these stressors are linked to adverse health outcomes such as mental and physical health problems (Meyer & Frost, 2013). And in response to the experience of this stress, individuals develop certain ways of coping (Meyer, 2015).

Since minority stress is defined in relation to internalised prejudice, perceived stigma, and experiences of prejudice, it would be wise to assume that the similar conceptualisation could be relevant for other minority groups with similar experiences. For example, Kurdish ethnic minority might be another relevant group to investigate in relation to identity threat and strategies of coping. Given the high levels of prejudice against Kurds in Turkey in the face of national identity (which will be discussed below and in Paper 3 and Paper 4), from the perspective of MICT, it could be possible to assume that the stigma about Kurdish identity may undermine the satisfaction of identity motives. For example, being Kurdish may be perceived as a negatively distinct identity or Kurdish people often get denied their ethnic identity (distinctiveness); they may not be allowed to feel proud of being Kurdish (self-esteem); they may feel they are not accepted by the State and the society

(belonging); they may fear for the future existence of their identity (continuity); they may lose their purpose in life to build a better future (meaning), or they may feel powerless to do so (efficacy). Therefore, it could be assumed that both gay and Kurdish identities in contemporary Turkey share similarities and a common ground to be studied together in relation to certain social and cultural factors that undermine the operation of motivational principles underlying these identities.

Accordingly, in this thesis, I decided to focus on two minority groups in Turkey: gay sexual minority, and Kurdish ethnic minority. Previous research has shown that gay men and lesbian women experience considerable prejudice and discrimination around the world (e.g., Herek & McLemore, 2013). These negative attitudes are also prevalent in Turkey, driven by religious affiliation, religious fundamentalism, and absence of contact (Anderson & Koc, 2015). Similarly, negative attitudes towards Kurdish ethnic minority members are also prevalent in Turkey, driven by social dominance orientation, nationalism, absence of contact, and religious fundamentalism (Koc & Anderson, 2015). Taken together, both gay men and Kurdish ethnic minority members experience similar societal stigma and prejudice around their identities, and I assume that these experiences threaten their identities.

However, I do not treat these two identities as interchangeable stigmatised identities with respective sexuality- and ethnicity-based identity contents. Rather, I assume, despite their different identity contents, that both of these identities may have similar processes for maintenance of satisfactory identities. Whenever they are threatened, the operation of the identity processes and satisfaction of motivational

principles (e.g., belonging, self-esteem) may be undermined, and not necessarily in the same way. However, to maintain a satisfactory sense of identity, those motives that are undermined will be restored, and again not necessarily in the same way. IPT, as an overarching theoretical framework, helps bring together these two stigmatised identities on the basis of how they operate in the face of stigma.

Background to My Studies

I started a line of research on gay identity threat with my colleague, Hande Eslen-Ziya, prior to my PhD. We conducted an interview study focusing on gay men's experiences and definitions of masculinities in Turkey. We used Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity to understand and explain these experiences, whereby she refers to hegemonic masculinity as the idealised form of masculinity in a given time and context (Connell, 2005). Men strive to live up to this idealised form of masculinity, and its basic tenets prescribe heterosexuality, and rejection of homosexuality (Connell, 2005; Pleck, 1995). We found similar patterns in Turkey that gay men's identity was threatened as a function of societal masculinity perceptions, because being a gay man inherently violated these two tenets (Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016). In another study, we examined how gay men responded to this threat (Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012). Some gay men rejected their gay identity as a social identity, and only endorsed it as a sexual identity, which alleviated the potential threat from the social stigma because the negative representations around gay identity would not reflect on them. On the other hand, some gay men explained how they came to terms with their identities. The common point across these participants was their global connection. They had been abroad, had seen 'gay' as an identity rather than a sexual role, and they created their own forms of alternative

masculinities. Accordingly, in the first two studies, I aimed to investigate the insights from the findings of these studies, and test if global identification can be a coping mechanism to integrate one's potentially incompatible gay (sexual) and male (gender) identities using qualitative and experimental methods.

Before starting my PhD, I also ran a study with my colleague, Joel Anderson, investigating the predictors of explicit and implicit prejudice towards Kurds in Turkey (Koc & Anderson, 2015). I found that social dominance orientation, nationalism, lack of contact, and blind patriotism were significant predictors of negative attitudes towards Kurds in Turkey. I then noticed a gap in the social psychology literature that there were no studies focusing on identity among Kurds living in Turkey. Kurdish identity has historically been marked by oppression, destruction, and a threat of extinction, but we did not know much about how Kurdish people themselves feel about losing their identity and culture. In 2014, there was a peace process in Turkey, when the government and the Kurdish MPs were negotiating for the Kurdish armed struggle to turn into a political movement, and mark the end of the armed clashes that had been going on since 1980s. I thought it was a perfect time to capture what has happened over the years, and what the expectations were for the future. With a similar aim to empower the individuals, it would be useful to find out what threatens Kurdish identity, so that these threats could be removed, and what helps Kurdish people cope with this threat, so that effective coping strategies could be promoted. Accordingly, in my last two studies, I first aimed to identify the identity elements of and threat to Kurdish identity, and related coping mechanisms using a qualitative design, and then test one of these mechanisms in an experimental study.

Methodological Considerations

This research benefited from the flexibility of IPT to be used with different methodologies. Breakwell (2014a) claims that the theory does not prescribe either qualitative or quantitative approaches, or prefer one over the other. Coyle and Murtagh (2014) describe how IPT is compatible with qualitative methods, and Vignoles (2014) describes how IPT can equally be addressed with quantitative methods. IPT provides an interpretative theoretical framework, rather than a tightly specified set of predictions. Therefore, researchers should be able to use methods that are appropriate to their research questions. Accordingly, I used IPT with different methods including qualitative (i.e., interview data), and quantitative (i.e., correlational and experimental) methods. Qualitative methods helped me gain in-depth understanding of the phenomena under question. I talked to gay men and Kurdish people, and they voiced their own experiences, frustrations, and challenges in relation to their identities. My qualitative analysis was informed by the theory, but did not seek to test the theory. I asked my research questions based on the theory focusing specifically on threat and coping, and the theory helped me establish the structure of the analysis. While conducting the analysis, I focused on the individuals' experience and how they made sense of their identities in the face of the stigma. Therefore, I adopted a phenomenological approach to voice the participants' experience. Based on this, I made inferences about which identity motives were undermined when their identities were threatened. I then tried to link the threats and the coping mechanisms that came out as a response to the threat, looking at how undermined motives were restored. This was an attempt to link my findings and ground them in theory. However, my sample sizes were always limited: 14 gay men,

and 8 Kurds. This raised issues about generalizability of the findings. But I always regarded these studies as a pool of ideas to be tested subsequently with quantitative methods. Therefore, my correlational and experimental studies aimed to substantiate these findings with larger samples. In short, a mixed methods approach enriched my thesis by allowing me to answer different questions, and the same question from different perspectives.

Overview of the Studies

In Papers 1 and 2, I focused on multiple identity threat of gay and male identities, and global identification as a coping mechanism across samples of gay men in Turkey.

In Paper 1, I tested the findings of my earlier qualitative work. I built and tested a model investigating whether global identification would function as a coping mechanism against the multiple identity conflict of gay and male identities as a function of traditional masculinity perceptions. I hypothesised that identifying as a 'global citizen' would help gay men integrate their incompatible gay and male identities, and higher integration would be related to higher well-being. Using structural equation modeling, I found that higher global identification was related to higher gay-male identity integration, and indirectly higher well-being. I also tested if the relationship between global identification and gay-male identity integration would be explained by alternative representations for male and gay identities. The underlying rationale was that if being a man is defined as supportive and egalitarian instead of dominant and manly, or being gay is defined as expressive and open-minded instead of flamboyant and effeminate, this could increase the overlap

between these representations of being a man and being gay. However, this link was not significant. This study brought the first quantitative evidence to establish global identification as a coping mechanism against gay-male identity conflict, and raised further questions about causality, and the importance of having access to gay-affirmative social spaces where gay men can comfortably express their identities.

Accordingly, in Paper 2, I focused on two aims. First, I aimed to substantiate the findings of Paper 1 with an experiment. Second, I wanted to test if global identification would also increase access to gay-affirmative social spaces, and hence well-being. Since I had previously tried (and failed) to manipulate global identification in my first study, I took a different approach in this one. I manipulated pro-globalisation worldviews, expecting that this would increase participants' identification as global citizens, which would then increase gay-male identity integration, and access to gay-affirmative social spaces. I found that participants primed with pro-globalisation worldviews increased their identification as global citizens, which then increased their gay-male identity integration. The experimental manipulation did not increase access to gay-affirmative social spaces, but baseline global identification predicted higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts. Individuals who identified more strongly as global citizens did report more access to these contexts (either mentally or physically); yet the perception of these contexts may not be prone to change at the state level—perhaps because it would take time to engage in and develop a sense of belonging towards such contexts. Overall, this study replicated the findings of Paper 1 with an experimental study, and also correlationally showed that global identification was beneficial for access to gay-affirmative social spaces, which positively predicted well-being. Access to gay-

affirmative social contexts could be another coping strategy for gay men to deal with the threats to their identity and develop positive sense of selves.

In Paper 3 and 4, I focused on identity threat and coping among Kurdish ethnic minority members. Across two studies, I aimed to identify what threatens Kurdish identity and how Kurdish people cope with this threat, and I tested the effect of one of these strategies on well-being.

In Paper 3, I conducted a qualitative study exploring the threat and coping strategies using IPT as a theoretical framework, and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, 2004) as an analytical framework. By analysing interviews with eight Kurds living in Istanbul, Turkey, I found that suffering was fundamental to the Kurdish identification. Suffering both threatened and gave meaning to Kurdish identity, and the coping strategies used were contextually determined in relation to how the identity was threatened. I identified key sources of identity threat—destruction of homeland, forced migration, experiences of current stigma—and key coping strategies—assimilation, separation, longing for the homeland, and gaining a voice. I also identified how threat undermined identity motives, and how coping was successful to restore them. Overall, I found that participants were silenced as Kurdish ethnic minority members by societal, political, and cultural pressure; but, over time, some of them were able to claim back their identities by gaining a voice. This is the first social psychological study to identify sources of identity threat for this group as well as key coping strategies, and this might form a basis for potential interventions to improve well-being among members of this group. In the next paper, I tested one of these coping strategies

Finally, in Paper 4, I conducted an experiment to investigate the effects of collective ethnic nostalgia on well-being as a coping mechanism. Nostalgic experiences were consistently referred to in Paper 3, where participants mentioned how spending time with their ingroup members, and remembering past memories, listening to Kurdish songs helped them cope with the longing for their hometown. In social psychological literature, the positive impact of nostalgia on well-being is well established (see Sedikides & Wildschut, 2017). However, there were at least three gaps in the literature. First, there were no studies investigating this effect with a highly stigmatised minority group whose past, present, and future are under extinction threat. Second, the type of nostalgic past was always assumed to be the same. However, in Paper 3, I found that there is a collective Kurdish past that happened before the participants were born, but still remembered and valued as a part of their identity. Hence, I created novel nostalgia conditions. I was curious to see if there would be differences if I distinguished between two types of collective past memories: that was not one's own experienced past versus that was personally experienced. Moreover, in Paper 3, I identified an unexplored novel aspect of nostalgia which includes projecting nostalgic memories into one's future. Accordingly, I attempted to differentiate between three types of nostalgia: one's unexperienced, experienced, and future-oriented nostalgic memories. Finally, previous research on nostalgia tested a number of motivational processes at individual level such as self-continuity, and self-esteem. However, I thought especially for collective nostalgia, it would be worthwhile to investigate these motivational processes at both individual and group levels. Therefore, I included the six identity motives from MICT for the individual and for Kurds as a group, and

tested the effect of nostalgia on them. For the first question, I found no evidence of differential effects of nostalgia conditions on how people felt nostalgic. People felt nostalgic after the manipulation regardless of the experimental conditions. However, I found no evidence of nostalgia improving well-being for this group. This was a surprising finding for us given the sound evidence establishing nostalgia as a psychological resource. I hence argued that the positive effects of nostalgia may depend on sample characteristics, and nostalgia may not be beneficial for a highly stigmatised minority group.

In the general discussion, I discussed the novelties and strengths of this research project along with possible limitations. I then elaborated on these limitations, and accordingly suggested possible future avenues to continue this research. I have also reflected on the methods and theoretical framework which informed my studies. Finally, I discussed certain areas of application where and how this research could be translated into societal benefit.

PAPER 1: Global identification predicts gay-male identity integration and well-being among Turkish gay men

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Abstract

In most parts of the world, hegemonic masculinity requires men to endorse traditional masculine ideals, one of which is rejection of homosexuality. Wherever hegemonic masculinity favours heterosexuality over homosexuality, gay males may feel under pressure to negotiate their conflicting male gender and gay sexual identities to maintain positive self-perceptions. However, globalisation, as a source of intercultural interaction, might provide a beneficial context for people wishing to create alternative masculinities in the face of hegemonic masculinity. Hence, we tested if global identification would predict higher levels of gay-male identity integration, and indirectly subjective well-being, via alternative masculinity representations for gay and male identities. A community sample of 219 gay and bisexual men from Turkey completed the study. Structural equation modelling revealed that global identification positively predicted gay-male identity integration, and indirectly subjective well-being; however, alternative masculinity representations did not mediate this relationship. Our findings illustrate how identity categories in different domains can intersect and affect each other in complex ways. Moreover, we discuss mental health and well-being implications for gay men living in cultures where they experience high levels of prejudice and stigma.

Key words: global identification; gay-male identity integration; alternative masculinities; sexual identity; gender identity; intersectionality

Introduction

"I thought how unpleasant it is to be locked out; and I thought how it is worse perhaps to be locked in; and thinking of the safety and the prosperity of one sex and the poverty and the security of the other."

-Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own, 1929

Today, the notion of multiple identities is all pervasive. People have multiple identities as a combination of nationality, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, and social status, to name just a few. So far, social psychologists have often theorised and researched as if those identities might be kept separate, but there is now increasing recognition that social identities intersect and are not independent of each other (see Dommelen, Schmidt, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2015, for a recent study). Once multiple social identities intersect, they may either harmoniously function together or they might be incompatible, with potentially important implications for well-being. This study aims to look at the intersection of two potentially conflicting identities among Turkish gay men. For this group, gay and male identities may be experienced as incompatible, resulting in poorer well-being, because being gay violates the prescriptive norms of hegemonic masculinity, the dominant ideal way of being a man in a given time and place. However, in the current paper, we propose that the compatibility or otherwise of these two social identities depends in turn on the adoption of a third social identity—as a 'global citizen'.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Its Implications

Masculine ideology defines cultural standards for male behaviour and highlights the importance of following these standards (Pleck, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). *Hegemonic masculinity*, the driving force underlying masculinity

ideology, is an idealised form of masculinity which men strive to live up to (Connell, 2005). Although the meaning of hegemonic masculinity may change over time and across cultures (Connell, 2012), the currently hegemonic form of masculinity, both globally and in Turkey, requires men to be tough, independent, aggressive, dominant, and successful; on the other hand, it also prescribes them not to be effeminate, dependent or submissive (Connell, 2005; Herek, 1986). Hegemonic masculinity is said to "subordinate" all other masculinities (Pyke, 1996): Certain men, not being able to live up to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, are thus marginalised and are forced to construct their gender identities by validating other masculinities (Messerschmidt, 1993). This is congruent with Connell's (2005) proposition that masculinities are plural: If men reject or fail to endorse hegemonic masculinity, they can then identify with other masculinities; however, such other masculinities are regarded as inferior and subordinate (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).[1]

Connell (2005) claims that gender is constructed in a dynamic process, and cultures provide a context to understand hegemonic masculinity as a product of this dynamic process (Herek, 1986). Men are born and grow up in societies where the

[1] Connell's (2005) notion of hegemonic masculinity has been criticised as too rigid to incorporate the embodiment of masculinities (Demetriou, 2001) and is challenged by more recent theories such as E. Anderson's inclusive masculinity theory (E. Anderson, 2009; 2012), which proposes that masculinities can exist linearly, with no hegemony over one another. However, Anderson's theorising is mainly rooted in examples from non-homohysteric settings, where homosexuality is no longer stigmatised and cultural homophobia is reduced (E. Anderson, 2012). Recent studies show the continuing pervasiveness of anti-gay attitudes in Turkey during the early part of the 21st century (J. Anderson & Koc, 2015; Gelbal & Duyan, 2006; Sakalli, 2002), and so the concept of hegemonic masculinity is appropriate to describe our research context. Nonetheless, we recognize that masculinities are socially constructed in particular local and historical circumstances, and so the hegemony is not unbreakable (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993).

context of family and other institutions favours heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). People often act in ways that are compatible with their cultural notions of masculinity and femininity rather than their own identities (Pleck, 1995). In this context, when being a man becomes an essential aspect of one's personal identity, this also requires one to be heterosexual (Pleck, 1995) and not to be a woman (Kimmel, 1994). Male homosexuality is seen as a threat to masculinity (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Herek, 1986; Kimmel, 1994; Plummer, 2005; Parrott, 2009), since gays are often thought to have innately feminine qualities (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Herek, 1984). Hence, anti-femininity and anti-gay prejudice are common responses against masculinity threat (Pleck, 1981; Glick et al., 2007), so as to maintain masculine ideology in the context of masculine socialisation (Shields & Harrimon, 1984).

To the extent that subordination of gay men is an integral part of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005), it might function as a coping mechanism for heterosexual men: Masculine identity may be reaffirmed by attacking gay men (Herek, 1986), who are perceived to be guilty of violating existing gender norms (Franklin, 2000; Pharr, 1988). Heterosexuals define the boundaries of their masculine identity, putting themselves on the inside and gay men on the outside (Herek, 1986). In so doing, they may derive self-esteem by attacking gay or effeminate men as deviant in-group members (see subjective group dynamics theory: Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998) and thus maintain their masculine identity (which is in line with social identity theory: Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, gay men inherently possess both of these sexual and gender

identities, and how this conflict is manifest and experienced in gay men's lives has received little attention.

Although this is changing in some parts of the world, and being a male in Turkey still requires one to be heterosexual and to endorse the features of hegemonic masculinity, according to the perspectives of heterosexual men (Bolak-Boratav, Fişek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2014; Sancar, 2009), and gay men (Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012). Gay identity, on the other hand, is a threat to one's male identity, as it is perceived to violate the requirements of hegemonic masculinity even for gay men themselves (Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016). Hence, it is possible to say that gay and male identities are incompatible in Turkey, and that Turkish gay men are likely to experience conflict between their sexual and gender identities, as discussed by Franklin (2000) and Herek (1986). Accordingly, we focus here on the paradoxical coexistence of these two identities – gay and male – in a context where hegemonic masculinity entails that they are incompatible, and we examine the predictors and implications of their experienced (in)compatibility.

Identity Integration and Well-Being

How do people deal with multiple identities that may potentially be in conflict? This question has been addressed in studies of people with multiple cultural identities. Thus, bicultural identity integration can be taken as an analogue problem of the one we address here. Bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) was developed to address individuals' subjective experiences of managing dual identities. In this study, we take bicultural identity integration as a framework to understand the experiences of gay men negotiating their sexual and gender identities.

Bicultural identity integration incorporates two bipolar components of identity integration. The first is *blendedness versus compartmentalisation*, capturing the "degree of dissociation versus overlap perceived between the two cultural orientations" (Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011; p. 830), whereas the second is *harmony versus conflict*, capturing the "degree of tension or clash versus compatibility between the two cultures" (p. 830). The first component taps into the performance-related aspect of identity integration whereas the second one focuses on the affective aspect (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). A recent meta-analysis has shown that a high level of identity integration is associated with psychological, sociocultural, and health-related adjustment outcomes such as higher self-esteem, lower anxiety, and greater life satisfaction in bicultural individuals (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). One of the advantages of this framework is its flexibility to apply to different forms of social identity beyond cultural identities. Huynh et al. (2011) suggest that this framework might be applied to other potentially incompatible identities such as racial, religious, sexual, and professional identities, and their possible combinations. Yet we are aware of no research that has attempted this to date. Accordingly, we focus here on the integration of potentially incompatible sexual and gender identities.

Coping with Masculinity Threat through Global Identification

In a previous qualitative study among Turkish gay men, Koc and Eslen-Ziya (2012) found that gay sexual identity was perceived to 'violate' hegemonic masculinity ideology, and hence the male gender identity of the participants. Since gay men inherently possess both gay sexual and male gender identities at the same time, this threat is always present (although not necessarily salient). When identities

are under threat, people may use a wide variety of coping strategies to maintain or restore a satisfactory sense of identity (Breakwell, 1986).

One way to cope with threat is to reject endorsement of the threatening identity (Breakwell, 1986). However, in a culturally diverse online sample of men who have sex with men, non-endorsement of gay identity was found to be related to negative outcomes such as maladaptive sexual patterns, which suggests that it is not an especially viable coping mechanism (Rosenmann & Safir, 2007).

In an attempt to compensate for lacking hegemonic masculinity, marginalised men may try to create alternative masculinities (Connell, 2005; Messerschmidt, 1993; Pyke, 1996; Wilson et al., 2010). Alternative masculinities are not homogenous, and they may be created as a product of sexual and gender identity negotiation. In a study with gay, bisexual, and questioning US adolescents, Wilson et al. (2010) found that negotiating masculine ideology might result in different alternative masculinities, such as accepting hegemonic masculinity by rejecting feminine and endorsing masculine behaviour, or rejecting all the stereotypes and creating their own ways. A third and more balanced way was to "blend the most appealing qualities of the two genders" (Wilson et al., 2010; p.181). Those individuals achieving to blend these qualities might benefit from positive aspects of both identities.

A third coping mechanism is that people can change their patterns of group identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For instance, when a new social context posed a threat to the ethnic identity of Hispanic students in their first year in college in the US, those with initially low identification further lowered their group identification to maintain their self-esteem, whereas those with initially high

identification maintained and strengthened their ethnic identification (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Shifts in identification functioned as a coping mechanism for the threat to their identity. In their qualitative study with Turkish gay men, Koc and Eslen-Ziya (2012) concluded that adopting a global identity as "citizen of the world" might provide an opportunity to escape from traditional masculine ideology and open the path for construction of positive alternative masculinities, by aligning the individual with a globalised Western culture where gay identity is more accepted (see also Rosenmann, 2016).

Globalisation provides high degrees of contact with other cultures (Berry, 2008). Accordingly, intercultural contact may make new contexts available to individuals, and people might use these contexts as new social environments within which to construct or transform their identities (Arnett, 2002). In other words, beyond the limitations of cultural and national identities and related traditional views on masculinity, globalisation might enable individuals to have novel and positive perspectives, which might not be readily available in their cultural contexts of origin. In this way, being a male will not necessarily conflict with being gay, because alternative masculinities may overlap with the features of gay identities. Thus, alternative definitions of masculinity attributed to males can also be attributed to gays, which in turn predictably decreases incompatibility.

Extending this argument, Arnett (2002) stated that "when people are allowed to make their own choices about values, love, and work, the likelihood may be enhanced that they will find a psychologically rewarding match between their choices and their individual desires" (p. 781). In other words, they will choose to perform their identities in contexts which reinforce their life choices. In this sense,

globalisation might be perceived as a facilitating context for gay-male identity integration because homosexuality is increasingly accepted in the Western world (Pew Research Centre, 2013), particularly in European and North American countries associated with global culture, as well as by non-Western individuals who identify with global culture (Rosenmann, 2016), and being gay is gradually becoming more of an accepted self-trait (Simon, 2004). Jaspal and Cinnirella (2012) suggested that gay-affirmative social contexts provide feelings of belonging and increased well-being for those who have potentially incompatible identities (i.e., British Muslim gay men), and we suggest that global identification might function to create a gay-affirmative social context for gay male Turkish individuals. People who identify with globalised Western culture might gain access to positive aspects of gay identity, that are otherwise unavailable in a culture where negative anti-gay attitudes are prevalent (Anderson & Koc, 2015) and gay men report experiencing internalised sexual prejudice as a function of violating male gender roles (Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016). Accordingly, we expect that the more strongly Turkish gay men identify as "global citizens", the more they should experience their gay and male identities as compatible, with corresponding benefits for their psychological well-being.

Overview of the Current Study and the Hypotheses

In this study, we aimed to test if global identification would predict greater compatibility between two conflicting identities, namely gay and male identities, via alternative masculinity representations, thereby predicting higher well-being among gay male individuals (see Figure 1.1).

In particular, we hypothesised that global identification would predict higher gay-male identity integration (H1), and that gay-male identity integration would

predict higher levels of well-being (H2). Combining H1 and H2, we expected a significant indirect effect of global identification on well-being via gay-male identity integration.

Moreover, we hypothesised that global identification would predict alternative masculinity representations for gay identity (H3a) and for male identity (H3b), and that these alternative masculinity representations for gay identity (H4a) and for male identity (H4b) would predict gay-male identity integration separately. Combining H3a, H3b, H4a and H4b, we expected significant indirect effects of global identification on gay-male identity integration via these alternative masculinity representations.

We controlled for Turkish identification, as an alternative to global identification, and we did not make any specific predictions. Finally, we also controlled for religiosity. Because religiosity might inherently be perceived as incompatible with gay identity (e.g., Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010), although not the main focus of our current study, we hypothesised that religiosity would predict lower levels of gay-male identity integration (H5) and hence lower well-being.

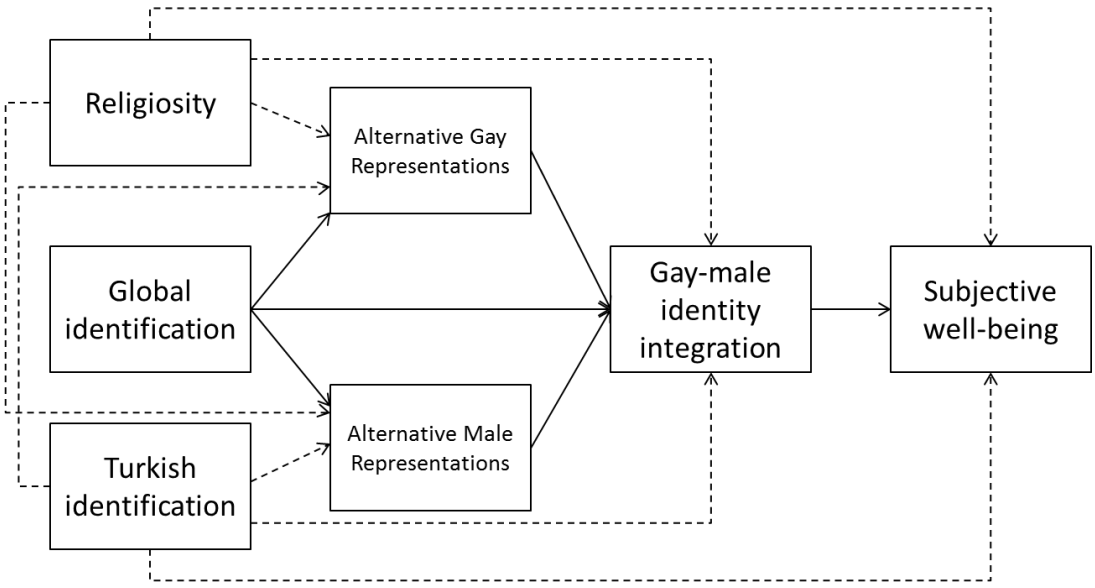

Figure 1. 1: Conceptual model (solid lines show the hypothesised model, and dashed lines show that we controlled for religiosity and Turkish identification)

Method

Participants and Procedure

An opportunity sample of 226 respondents completed the study; initially, six respondents were removed due to being younger than 18 years old, and one further requested to withdraw his data after debrief. Of the remaining 219 respondents[2], 188 were self-identified gay, 27 were self-identified bisexual, and four were other (one gender-queer, two cross-dressers, and one rejected such categorisation). In the final sample, the mean age was 27.08 (*SD* = 8.22) ranging from 18 to 56. We measured certain demographic variables such as occupation, subjective socio-economic status (SES), and relationship status. Fifty one percent were students, and the remainder had various occupations including tailors, teachers, and engineers. Subjective SES was measured asking respondents to place themselves on the rungs of a ladder from 1 to 10 (higher scores indicating higher status) in comparison to other people in Turkish society (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000), and the mean SES was 5.56 (*SD* = 1.57). 76.7% of the respondents were single, 8.2% were in an open relationship, 13.7% were in a monogamous relationship, and 1.4% were married[3]. We also measured respondents' level of outness using the Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000): they were mostly closeted, as would be expected in a traditional

[2] We retained the bisexual and four other participants with different sexual orientations in the analysis, given that they had self-selected as relevant for a study that was advertised for gay participants, and we believe they all experience similar negative experiences in Turkey. Removing these participants did not change the substantive findings of this study,

[3] Married respondents were married to women not to other gay men (as there is no legal status for gay men in Turkey), and they all identified as bisexual.

society like Turkey (overall openness $M = 2.44$ on a 7-point scale from 1 to 7 higher scores indicating more openness). They were most open to friends ($M = 3.76$) followed by siblings ($M = 2.90$) in the family, and less than average open to the supervisors at work ($M = 1.85$).

Once the study was approved by our university's research ethics committee, the first author translated the entire questionnaire into Turkish, and we refined the translation using established back-translation procedures (Brislin, 1970). Next, we created a recruitment message, including a description of the study, eligibility criteria, and the online link to the study. Using this message, we recruited the respondents via online social networks (e.g., Facebook and Twitter), online gay dating websites (e.g., Gayromeo) and applications (e.g., Hornet), and via a gay magazine website in Turkey. A similar number of respondents was recruited from each source. When respondents clicked on the link, they were directed to the study website where they were given information about the study, gave their consent for participation, completed the questionnaire, and were finally debriefed.

Design

This was a correlational study using observed and latent variables testing both direct and indirect paths for mediation effects (see Figure 1). In our analysis, we used religiosity, and Turkish and global identification constructs as observed variables, whereas alternative gay and male representations, gay-male identity integration, and subjective well-being constructs were used as latent factors. Latent factors are theoretical constructs created with observed variables representing the different aspects of the hypothesised construct (Kline, 2005). Following the recommendations of Little, Cunningham, Shahar, and Widaman (2002), we

measured each latent factor with three observed indicators, so that each latent factor was locally just-identified. These indicators are described below.

Measures[4]

Religiosity. We measured religiosity with two questions. We first asked if respondents belonged to a religion, and if yes, we asked them to report their religion. Then we asked them to what extent they agreed with the following statement: "I often think about the fact that I am a member of my religious affiliation" on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Participants who did not belong to a religion was recoded as the lowest score. Higher scores indicate higher levels of agreement.

Turkish and global identification measures. Two single-item identification measures were used for Turkish identification and global identification, separately (adapted from Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013). The Single Item Identification Scale was found to be a valid and reliable measure of identification, as Postmes et al. (2013) claim that social identification is homogenous enough to be measured with a single item. For this study, each item was worded as "I identify with Turks", and "I identify with the citizens of the world." Respondents were asked to indicate their

[4] We originally attempted to manipulate global identification, using a biased questionnaire with bogus feedback. However, the manipulation showed no effects on any of our measures, and so we disregarded it here. We suspect that participants in this research context would have been strongly invested in their prior identity positions with regards to globalisation, making this very hard to manipulate experimentally. The study also included some further measures that we have not reported here: Self-Concept Clarity Scale (Campbell et al., 1996), Internalised Homophobia Scale (Herek, Cogan, Gillis, & Glunt, 1997), Identification Scale (adapted from Leach et al., 2008), Disidentification Scale (adapted from Becker & Tausch, 2014), discomfort affect words (from Elliot & Devine, 1994), and State Identity Motive Satisfaction Scale. (see Appendix 1 for all the measures used in the study).

agreement with these statements on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of identification.

Alternative gay and male representations. Based on previous research on masculinities (Bolak-Boratav, Fişek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2014; Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012), two lists of ten attributes including traditional and alternative masculinity representations for male and gay identities were compiled separately (see Table 1.1). This rating measure aimed to capture how much respondents would associate these traditional and alternative masculinity representations with males and gays as separate social identity categories. We expected that higher levels of alternative representations, rather than traditional, would be related to higher levels of compatibility between these identities. Accordingly, respondents were told that these attributes could be used to describe males (or gays), and they were asked to indicate their level of agreement on a 9-point scale. Anchors were only provided for five main points (from 1 = *does not describe males [gays] at all* to 5 = *describes males [gays] perfectly*), and the respondents were also given an opportunity to select numbers between main points such as 3½ (between 3 and 4) if they were undecided between two responses, resulting in a 9-point scale. The ratings were presented in a random order both within and across the two categories. Higher scores indicate higher levels of association between alternative masculinity representations and the two social identity categories, separately.

Since this measure was new, we initially conducted principal component analysis using IBM SPSS statistics for windows, Version 22.0 (IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, USA). To control for individual differences in response style, we first ipsatised the items for each rating list by calculating a mean score of all the items in each list

and subtracting them from individual item scores (Fischer & Milfont, 2010). Because the analysis uses ipsative data, principal component analysis rather than exploratory factor analysis is appropriate (Baron, 1996; Ten Berge, 1999). For both male and gay ratings, there was a strong one factor solution, where alternative attributes loaded against traditional items in the same factor for each rating list. We decided to retain the first six highest loadings including three traditional and three alternative representations for each scale (see retained items in Table 1.1 with asterisk). Each single factor scale explained 28.63% of the variance for the male representations, and 27.85% of the variance for gay representations. Reliabilities were acceptable for the male scale, $\alpha = .73$, and for the gay scale, $\alpha = .69$.

Table 1. 1: *Traditional and alternative representations for male and gay identities*

Male		Gay	
Traditional	Alternative	Traditional	Alternative
Dominant*	Supportive*	Timid	Open-minded*
Protective	Empathetic*	Flamboyant*	Creative*
Manly	Responsible	Effeminate*	Fashionable
Promiscuous*	Egalitarian*	Immoral*	Expressive*
Traditional*	Independent	Capricious	Sensitive

Notes: * indicates the words retained after factor analysis

Gay-male identity integration. We used three indicators to measure gay-male identity integration: a single-item pictorial measure adapted from the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992) and two subscales of our adapted version of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (Huynh, 2009).

Gay-male compatibility circles. We adapted the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron et al., 1992) to measure compatibility between gay and male identities. This is a single-item, pictorial measure originally measuring interpersonal

connectedness; two circles measuring self and other gradually overlap on a seven-step scale from no overlap to almost complete overlap. In this study, we reconceptualised this scale with two identity categories, gay and male, and these identities were represented in each circle. Respondents were told that the circles show how gay and male identities might relate to one another, and were asked to choose the picture that best describes their perception. There were seven pictures, and scores ranged from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating higher levels of compatibility between the two identities.

Gay-male identity integration scale. We adapted the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (Huynh, 2009) to measure integration between gay and male identities on a personal level. The original version is a 19-item scale originally measuring individual differences in structure and experiences of biculturalism (e.g., immigrant, ethnic, and sojourner identity). This scale has two bipolar dimensions, blendedness versus compartmentalisation, and harmony versus conflict. In this study, we reconceptualised this scale with two identity categories, gay and male, and 16 of the original items were adapted accordingly, eight for each dimension. Example items are "Both gay and male identities make me who I am" (blendedness), "I find it difficult to combine gay and male identities" (compartmentalisation), "My gay and male identities are compatible" (harmony), and "I feel torn between gay and male identities" (conflict). Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with the statements using a 6-point scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*) with higher scores indicating higher levels of integration.

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on gay-male identity integration items using MPLUS version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010). We estimated two

correlated latent factors for blendedness (versus compartmentalisation) and harmony (versus conflict). To account for acquiescent responding, we modelled an uncorrelated method factor that loaded onto every item fixed at 1 (Welkenhuysen-Gybels, Billiet, & Cambré, 2003). The model showed acceptable fit to the data, according to Kline's (2005) criteria $\chi^2(102) = 235.29$, $p < .001$; comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.90; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.09 (90 % CI, 0.07-0.10); standardised root mean square residual (SRMR) = 0.08; however, there were issues regarding two items: one of them had a very low loading, and the other one had a positive loading while it was supposed to load negatively. Looking at the item contents, we concluded that the issues could be related to translation into Turkish language, and item contents were not accurately reflected in these two items. Hence, we repeated the analysis excluding these items with 14 items in total[5]. This model was a better fit to data; $\chi^2(73) = 158.60$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.94; RMSEA = 0.08 (90% CI, 0.06-0.10); SRMR = 0.06; and all items loaded accurately ($|\beta s| \geq .37$, $p < .001$). After items measuring compartmentalisation and conflict were recoded, reliabilities for each factor were computed, and were acceptable, $\alpha = .75$ for blendedness vs. compartmentalisation (6 items), and $\alpha = .89$ for harmony vs. conflict (8 items).

[5] Based on modification indices, we also allowed two covariances between pairs of indicator residuals to improve the fit in this model. The first one was between two items on the blendedness factor ("Both gay and male identities make me who I am" and "It is impossible for me to ignore the gay or male side of me"), and the second one was between two items on the conflict factor ("It is effortful to be gay and male at the same time" and
Being both gay and male means having two identities pulling me in different directions").

Subjective well-being. We measured subjective well-being according to the well-known tripartite model (Diener, 1984; Metler & Busseri, 2015), using three indicators: satisfaction with life, positive affect, and (absence of) negative affect.

Life satisfaction. A single item from the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) was used to measure life satisfaction after being adapted to reflect state satisfaction rather than trait. This single item measure was previously found to be valid to reflect life satisfaction as well as the full scale (Cheung & Lucas, 2014). The item used was "Right now, I am satisfied with my life." Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement on the statement using a 5-point scale (anchor: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of life satisfaction.

Positive and negative affect. We included six items constituting the positive and negative affect subscales of the Affect Valuation Index (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). Example items were "content" for positive, and "sad" for negative. Respondents were asked to indicate how much they felt each affect at that moment using a 5-point scale (anchor: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *entirely*). Scale means were computed with higher scores indicating higher levels of positive and negative affect separately. Reliabilities were good for positive affect $\alpha = .91$, and for negative affect $\alpha = .84$.

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables are presented in Table 1.2. We tested our hypotheses within a structural equation model including both latent and observed variables.

Table 1. 2: *Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for variables in the study, Ns = 122-219*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	*M*	*SD*
1	Global identification	-										4.61	1.35
2	Turkish identification	-.06	-									2.76	1.58
3	Religiosity	-.19**	.09	-								2.48	1.75
4	Alternative male representations	.04	.15*	-.05	-							4.13	1.18
5	Alternative gay representations	.27***	-.08	-.11	-.12	-						5.63	1.13
6	Gay-male compatibility circles	.18*	-.13	-.10	.10	.06	-					5.33	1.96
7	Harmony vs conflict	.27***	.01	-.24**	-.08	-.03	.31***	-				4.93	0.98
8	Blendedness vs compartmentalisation	.20**	.10	-.27***	-.04	-.02	.24**	.73***				4.73	1.12
9	Satisfaction with life	.21*	.19*	-.11	.05	.14	.05	.08	.28***			4.11	1.45
10	Positive Affect	.21*	.14	-.05	-.14	.10	.22*	.14	.20*	.70***		2.99	1.03
11	Negative Affect	-.17	-.15	.05	-.03	-.12	-.11	-.14	-.30**	-.67***	-.71***	2.60	1.14

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Measurement Model for Latent Factors

Initially, we tested a four-factor measurement model consisting of latent factors for alternative gay and alternative male representations, gay-male identity compatibility, and subjective well-being. We used three indicators for each latent factor, so as to have locally just-identified latent factors which tend to give more stable results (see Little et al., 2002). According to Boomsma (1982), a sample size of 100 or more is usually acceptable for modelling latent variables with 3 or 4 indicators per factor, and our current sample size comfortably met this criterion. We followed Little and colleagues' (2002) recommendations to create equally balanced item parcels for gay and male masculinity representations: For each scale, we created three item parcels including one traditional (reverse-scored) and one alternative item. Thus, we constructed two latent factors using three item parcels each for gay and male masculinity representations separately. Then, we constructed a subjective well-being latent factor with three indicators (see Diener, 1984): one with the single-item from Satisfaction with Life Scale, and the other two with positive and negative affect words from Affect Valuation Index. Finally, we constructed a gay-male integration latent factor using the Gay-Male Compatibility Circles and the two subscales of the Gay-Male Identity Integration Scale based on the confirmatory factor analysis described earlier. The measurement model showed acceptable fit to the data: $\chi^2(48) = 61.68$, $p = .089$; CFI = 0.97; RMSEA = 0.04 (90% CI, 0.00-0.06); SRMR = 0.06. All indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors ($|\beta s| \geq .31$, $p < .001$).

Main analysis

Using these latent factors, we then tested a structural model of the hypothesised paths from global identification through to subjective well-being (see Figure 1). First, we modelled direct paths from global identification measures to alternative gay and male representations latent factors; then we modelled direct paths from alternative gay and male representation latent factors to gay-male integration latent factor; and finally, a direct path from gay-male identity integration latent factor to subjective well-being. We also modelled direct paths from global identification to gay-male integration and subjective well-being latent factors, and from alternative gay and male representations to subjective well-being latent factor. In this way, we tested both direct and indirect paths to well-being. We also controlled for religiosity and Turkish identification by modelling paths from both variables to all dependent variables.

Our structural model showed a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(73) = 86.13$, $p = .14$; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.03 (90% CI, 0.00-0.05); SRMR = 0.06. Significant paths from this model are summarised in Figure 1.2.

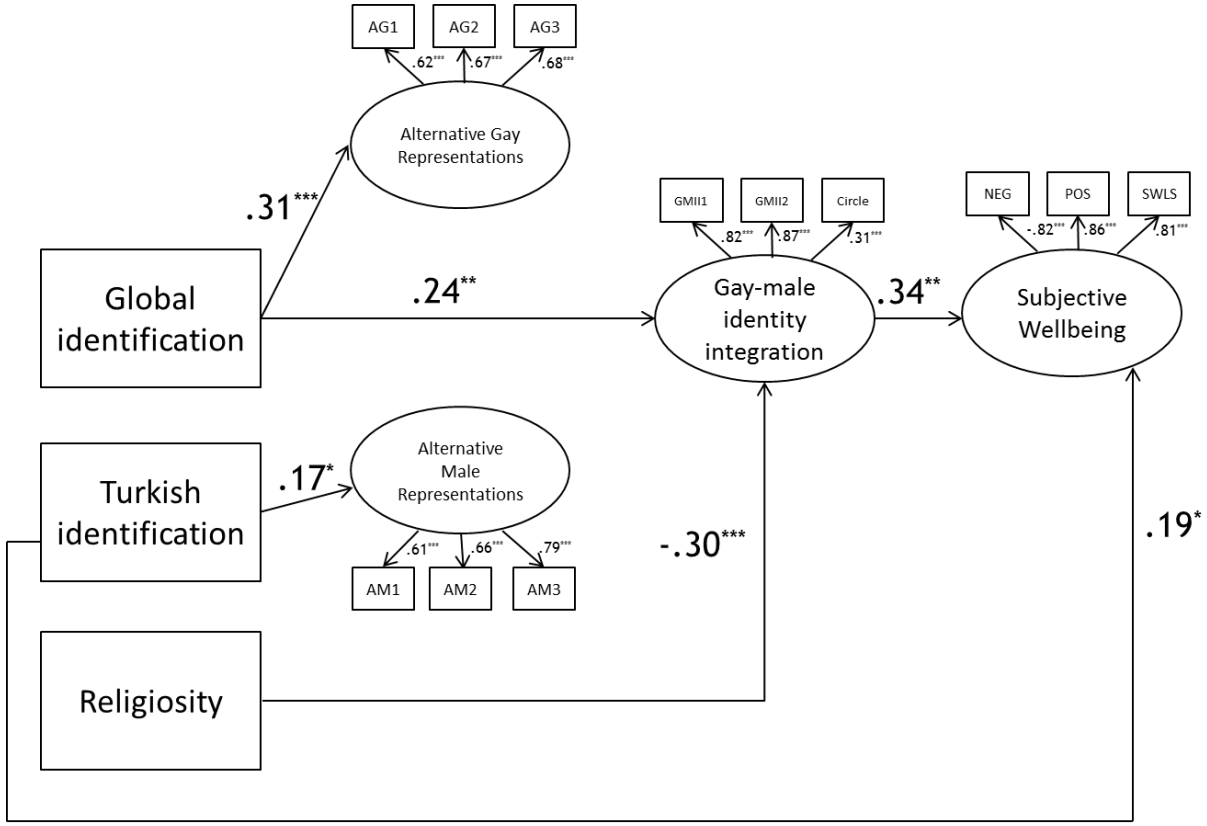

Figure 1. 2: Structural equation model with standardized estimates. Solid lines show significant paths and non-significant paths were not included in the figure ($^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{**}p < .001$)

Supporting H1, global identification significantly predicted higher gay-male integration (β = .24, *p* = .006). In turn, supporting H2, gay-male integration significantly predicted higher levels of well-being (β = .34, *p* = .004). Combining these paths, global identification had a significant indirect effect on subjective well-being via gay-male integration but not a significant direct effect (indirect effect: β = .08, *p* = .036: direct effect: β = .15, *p* = .133). Supporting H3a, global identification also significantly predicted higher alternative gay representations (β = .31, *p* < .001); but failing to support H3b, it did not significantly predict alternative male representations (β = .03, p = .650). Similarly, failing to support H4a and H4b, neither alternative male nor alternative gay representations was significantly related to gay-male identity integration or subjective well-being (*p*s ≥ 433).

We also controlled for Turkish identification in the analysis. Turkish identification was not related to gay-male identity integration (β = .07, *p* = .420), nor to alternative gay representations (β = .07, *p* = .420). However, unexpectedly, Turkish identification significantly predicted higher alternative male representations (β = .17, *p* = .043) and higher subjective well-being (β = .19, *p* = .031).

Finally, supporting H5, religiosity significantly predicted lower levels of gay-male identity integration (β = -.30, *p* < .001) and had a significant negative indirect effect on subjective well-being via gay-male identity integration but not a significant direct path (indirect effect: β = -.10, *p* = .021: direct effect: β = .08, *p* = .450).

We also bootstrapped with 10,000 resamples to test the robustness of our findings checking at 90% bias-corrected adjusted confidence intervals (BCa CI; MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). Bootstrapping is especially important for indirect effects, which are not assumed to be normally distributed. If confidence

intervals do not cross zero, this provides stronger evidence that the effects are robust. Accordingly, confidence intervals did not cross zero for the significant indirect effect of global identification on subjective well-being via gay-male integration (BCa CI = 0.001 to 0.16), nor for the significant negative indirect effect of religiosity on subjective well-being via gay-male integration (BCa CI = -0.19 to -0.01).

The final model accounted for 11.7% of the variance in alternative gay representations, 3.4% of the variance in alternative male representations, 16.7% of variance in gay-male identity integration, and 21.1% of variance in subjective well-being.

Discussion

In this study, we tested if global identification would predict higher gay-male identity integration, which in turn would predict well-being. We also tested if the relationship between global identification and gay-male identity integration could be mediated by alternative masculinity representations for gays and males. We used existing measures of identification and well-being, and created new measures of alternative masculinities and of gay-male identity integration. As we had hypothesized, global identification predicted higher levels of gay-male identity integration (H1), which in turn predicted higher well-being among gay men in Turkey (H2). However, this relationship was not mediated by alternative masculinity representations (H4a, H4b), even if global identification was related to higher levels of alternative representations for gays as expected (H3a). On the other hand, religiosity was found to be negatively related to gay-male identity integration and

indirectly to well-being (H5), whereas Turkish identification was not significantly related to gay-male identity integration.

Our results provide the first quantitative support for previous qualitative findings in the field with respect to gay-male identity integration (see Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012), and they highlight the importance of identity intersectionality and its implications for one's overall sense of identity. Shields (2008, p. 302) defines intersectionality as follows: "social identities which serve as organizing features of social relations, mutually constitute, reinforce, and naturalize one another." In other words, when different social identities intersect, they give meaning to one another, and help each other change and maintain themselves in a dynamic reciprocal relationship. In our study, we saw that people's level of identification with a supranational identity, namely global identification, as well as the importance of religious identity can seemingly affect the relationship between two other social identities, namely sexual and gender identities. Hence, future research should continue this intersectional approach and further investigate the mechanisms underlying these effects.

Another important aspect of our study is its focus on global identity. Today, global culture is very salient all over the world and easily accessible to most people via remote acculturation, which refers to the exposure of local people to remote cultures in which they never lived, via technology or via other means such as tourism (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Remote acculturation is thought to have positive health outcomes by providing people with feelings of solidarity, belonging, and validation, especially in contexts when their local culture conflicts with their personal identity enactments (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, in press). In

our study, the positive effect of global identification on gay-male identity integration could potentially be explained by this facilitating aspect of remote acculturation to a supra-national 'global culture'.

However, one limitation of our study is that we did not examine what participants understood by the term 'global citizen' that was used to measure global identification. In contrast, Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) measured remote acculturation of Jamaican individuals specifically with European-American, African-American, and Jamaican cultures rather than with vaguely-defined targets like global culture or the Western world. Future studies should specify what global culture means to the study participants, and examine the specific benefits that it offers with respect to gay and male identities. Considering that gay identity is becoming more accepted in the Western world (Simon, 2004) that is associated with global culture, gay men living in non-Western cultures might endorse and benefit from such specific aspects of global culture which could then result in positive health outcomes. Accordingly, further research could also prime specific definitions or forms of global identity that are relevant to gay identities, and test their effect on identity integration.

Our data did not support the predicted mediating role of alternative masculinities in the link between global identification and gay-male identity integration. This raises questions about our initial conceptualisation of the processes underlying identity integration. Initially, we thought of identity integration in mainly cognitive terms—hence the focus on definitions of the two identities. But perhaps global identification helps gay-male identity integration not through cognitive endorsement of alternative masculinities, but through providing access to a (virtual) social context in which one is able to feel accepted as a member of these two groups

simultaneously. This explanation gains importance if one considers global identification as providing access a gay affirmative social context that enables conflicting social identities to function compatibly (e.g., Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012). For instance, global identification might prompt feelings of belonging as a function of affirmative social contexts, and this might mediate the relationship between global identification and gay-male identity integration. Future work should investigate this possibility.

On the other hand, religiosity was found to be an important negative predictor of gay-male identity integration. This is in line with previous work regarding anti-gay attitudes in Turkey as a function of religion (Anderson & Koc, 2015); if gay men endorse prescriptions of the culturally dominant religion, this creates incompatibility between their religious and sexual identities. Religiosity also had a negative indirect effect on well-being. Previous research found links between internalised homophobia and mental health problems as a function of religiosity among young religious gay men (Harris, Cook, & Kashubeck-West, 2008). Young people suffering from conflicting religious and sexual identities might give up their religion to maintain their sense of identity, as sexual identity becomes more salient and dominant in their lives (Jaspal, 2014; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000). However, negative religious coping (such as giving up religious beliefs or being angry at God) was found to cause distress and negative impact on well-being (Shilo, Yossef, & Savaya, 2015) for religious gay men, and hence current debates in social services call for sensitivity to religious/spiritual needs of young gay and bisexual individuals (Meanley, Pingel, & Bauermeister, 2015). Our findings provide novel quantitative evidence for the relationship between religiosity, identity incompatibility and

reduced well-being in a Muslim sample; yet our single-item measure for religiosity provides only a limited understanding. Future research should use more fine-grained measures of religiosity to identify different aspects of religion that are incompatible with sexual identity and to develop potential interventions.

This study has several implications for the situation of gay men in Turkey (or in similarly hostile cultures) regarding possible interventions that might enhance their well-being. As global identification was found to be positively related to well-being, existing connections with the global community can be enhanced and utilised as a coping mechanism against threats to gay-male identity. For instance, gay magazines (e.g., where we advertised our study) can promote positive global gay images, which can increase people's likelihood to identify themselves with those images, and hence their sexual identity. Similarly, constructing gay-affirmative social spaces is crucial where gay men can be introduced to positive global gay images, and where they can also freely interact with other gays and express their identities. This could in turn increase gay men's identity flexibility so that they would rely on relevant aspects of their identities in pertinent contexts. On the other hand, the negative relationship of religiosity with well-being requires more cautious treatment. Since negative religious coping is related to distress and reduced well-being (Shilo et al., 2015), practitioners working with gay men (and other members of LGBT community) might try to introduce their clients progressive interpretations of the relationship between Islam and homosexuality (Jamal, 2001), and help them reconcile these conflicting aspects of their identities.

Overall, our findings bring the first quantitative evidence to the study of gay-male identity integration, and extend the theoretical understanding of intersectional

identities. Nonetheless, we need to be careful in interpretations due to the correlational design of the study. These findings should be substantiated with experimental or longitudinal designs where the direction and the causality of the effects can be tested. However, longitudinal research is highly difficult in this population (where gays are still an actively persecuted minority) because of respondents' concerns for anonymity. Future research could benefit from recently developed ways of priming global identification (Rosenmann, 2016) in experimental designs, and could incorporate novel theoretical frameworks like remote acculturation (Ferguson et al., in press) to extend the current findings.

PAPER 2: Global identification helps increase identity integration among Turkish gay men

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Abstract

Globalisation provides novel contexts for people to express and transform their identities in different ways than may be available in their local cultures. For gay men in cultures where traditional masculinity norms prescribe heterosexuality and rejection of homosexuality, gay-male identity is inherently threatened. However, adopting an identity as 'global citizen' may increase the compatibility between these two identities, and hence well-being. We conducted an experiment with a community sample of 220 gay men in Turkey, manipulating pro- and anti-globalisation worldviews. Priming with pro-globalisation worldviews increased people's identification as global citizens, and thus indirectly led to higher gay-male identity integration. Identity integration, in turn, predicted higher subjective well-being. This study brings the first experimental evidence on the link between global identification and gay-male identity integration. Beyond its local focus on the cultural context of Turkey, it highlights the importance of an intersectional approach to studying social identities.

Key words: global identification; gay-male identity integration; gay-affirmative social contexts; sexual identity; gender identity; intersectionality

Introduction

"I am not the same having seen the moon shine on the other side of the world."

-Mary Anne Radmacher

People have multiple social identities, which can intersect in various ways depending on the context and salience of each identity. For example, in a society where traditional gender roles are valued, it would be easier to merge sexual and gender identities if one is male and heterosexual; yet it could be rather difficult to accept and express a gay-male identity, because traditional masculine norms both in some Western and non-Western societies prescribe heterosexuality and rejection of homosexuality (Connell, 2005; Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016; Herek, 1986). Most men try to live up to these ideals, and negotiate their own masculinity with the prescribed norms (Pleck, 1995; Wilson et al., 2010); yet, the identities of gay men may be inherently threatened due to the conflict between their sexual and gender identities, because their sexual identity entails homosexuality whereas a masculine gender identity prescribes rejection of homosexuality in many cultural contexts.

In situations of identity threat, people usually seek ways of coping to maintain or restore coherent and satisfactory identities (Breakwell, 1986). This could be achieved by rejecting endorsement of the particular threatening identity (Breakwell, 1986), changing patterns of group identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), or adopting another social identity (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). This study investigates experimentally whether adopting a 'global citizen' identity can help increase the integration between gay and male identities in Turkey, where traditional masculine norms are prevalent.

Early research on homosexuality in Turkey suggest that ‘homosexual identity’ was defined in terms of one’s sexual position regarding whether they were the top (the inserter) or the bottom (the receiver) in the sexual relationship (Tapinc, 1992). The tops were able to benefit from the dominant perceptions of masculinity (Ozbay, 2010); whereas the bottoms were perceived to be inherently feminine (Murray, 2000). Yet this perception gradually lessened due to the increasing circulation and acceptance of gay identity across the globe (Tapinc, 1992; Bereket & Adam, 2006). Homosexual men started self-identifying as ‘gay’ through their encounters with the LGBT organisations, which provided movies, visuals, and translated articles from global sources (Bereket & Adam, 2006). These developments helped gay men connect to a larger global gay community and identify with an alternative gay culture beyond their national frontiers (Parker, 1999).

However, attitudes towards gay men remained quite negative over the years in Turkey (Anderson & Koc, 2015; Sakalli, 2002), and LGBT people continue to experience direct and indirect forms of discrimination in access to education, employment, and health care (Gocmen & Yilmaz, 2017; Yilmaz & Gocmen, 2016). Dominant cultural conceptions of manhood in Turkey, also echoed by gay men themselves, retained the importance of masculinity and rejecting femininity (Bolak-Boratav, Fisek & Eslen-Ziya, 2014; Erol & Ozbay, 2013). Accordingly, gay men themselves express internalized sexual prejudice towards other gay men as a function of prevalent masculinity perceptions (Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016). These findings reinforce the idea that Turkish gay men may feel their identity is inherently threatened because the ideal way of being a real man requires them to be heterosexual, and reject femininity and homosexuality.

Here, we argue that global identification (i.e., identifying oneself as a global citizen) can change the nature of the relationship between gay and male identities by reducing the conflict between them and hence increasing their integration, because intersectional identities shape, change, and give meaning to each other (Shields, 2008). Moreover, we expect that higher levels of identity integration will be associated with positive well-being, indicated by higher self-esteem, lower anxiety, and greater life satisfaction, as has been evidenced in the case of bicultural individuals (Nyugen & Benet-Martinez, 2012). Previously, Koc and Eslen-Ziya (2012) found qualitative evidence from interviews with Turkish gay men that identifying as a global citizen was related to an integrated perception of gay and male identities; seemingly the global connection could help gay men reconstruct their identities by realigning their local and global experiences and developing belongingness to an alternative gay culture (Bereket & Adam, 2006; Parker, 1999). Later, Koc and Vignoles (2016) found correlational evidence that global identification was positively associated with gay-male identity integration and thus indirectly with well-being. This study aims to substantiate these findings with the first experimental evidence for a causal link from global identification to gay-male identity integration.

Globalisation refers to the interconnectedness of cultures, societies, and economies, and its effect on everyday life has been increasing (Arnett, 2002). Recent social psychological research has found relationships between global identification and reduced anti-gay bias (Rosenmann, 2016), less hostility towards immigrants (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), less xenophobia (Ariely, 2016), higher intergroup empathy (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013), greater support for human

rights (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012), and greater behavioural intentions to reduce global inequality (Reese, Proch, & Cohrs, 2014; but see Rosenmann, 2016, for a more nuanced picture). Most research so far has focused on how global identification can facilitate positive intergroup relations and help deal with recent global challenges; yet no research to our knowledge has focused on how the positive effect of global identification can be used to reduce conflict amongst social identities particularly multiple identities. This study accordingly aims to test the positive impact of global identification on the integration of conflicting gay and male identities among Turkish gay men.

Globalisation is characterized by deterritorialization of identity (Scholte, 2000), which implies that identities are released from their traditional attachments (Rosenmann, Reese, & Cameron, 2016). Therefore, global identification is thought be an inclusive identification, which provides identification with humanity and connectedness to all human beings (McFarland, Brown, & Webb, 2012; Reese, Proch, & Finn, 2015). When globalisation provides intercultural contact (Berry, 2008), it also provides people with exposure to new sets of values (Arnett, 2002), which may then affect their self-categorizations and patterns of identification (Rosenmann, Reese, & Cameron, 2016). With these new values and contexts, people have an opportunity to transform their identities in ways that are consistent with their desires, yet may not have been available to them in the absence of globalisation. Hence global identification may facilitate a match between people's desires and their life decisions . In the context of the present study, with the help of increased global identification, Turkish gay men might reappraise their perception of gay and male identities, and increase the integration between them.

Moreover, we investigated Jaspal and Cinnirella's (2012) suggestion that gay affirmative social spaces may help potentially incompatible sexual and ethnic identities function compatibly. Identifying with a global community may provide physical or psychological access to new social spaces or contexts for gay men where they can comfortably express their identities and may also affirm them. This might then indirectly increase their well-being. Accordingly, we tested these claims.

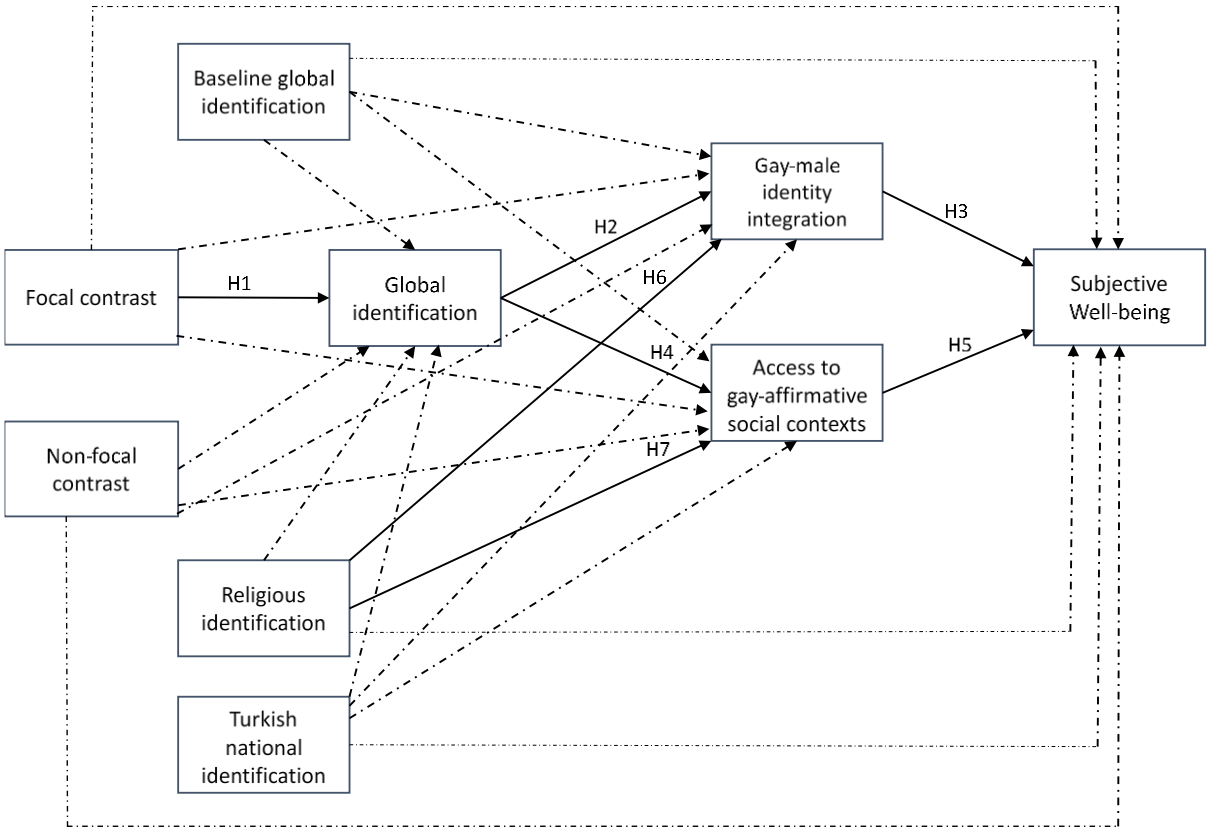

Figure 2.1: Conceptual model (solid lines show the hypothesized model, and dashed lines show all the other paths included in the model)

Overview of the Present Research and the Hypotheses

We tested if increasing global identification would lead to greater gay-male identity integration, as well as to increased access to gay-affirmative social contexts, namely where gay men feel they can comfortably express their identities. We also

tested if increases in both gay-male identity integration and access to gay-affirmative social contexts would predict higher well-being (see Figure 1).

Perhaps owing to the high stakes of global identification for this population, previous research has shown that it is difficult to prime global identification directly among Turkish gay men (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Hence, rather than directly prime identification, we aimed to foster (vs. undermine) identification by priming awareness of positive (vs. negative) aspects of globalisation. We hypothesized that priming a pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation) worldview would increase global identification (H1); higher global identification would then lead to higher gay-male identity integration (H2), and gay-male identification would then be related to higher subjective well-being (H3). Similarly, higher global identification would lead to higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts (H4), and higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts would then be related to higher levels of well-being (H5).

We also controlled for baseline global identification, Turkish identification, as an alternative to global identification, and religious identification. For Turkish identification, we did not make any specific predictions. For religious identification, based on previous evidence that religiosity and gay identity are perceived to be incompatible among Turkish gay men (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), we hypothesized that religious identification would predict lower levels of gay-male identity integration (H6) and access to gay-affirmative social contexts (H7).

Method

Participants and Procedure

We recruited the participants using an online gay dating application (i.e., Hornet, 2016) by sending a message to application users in Istanbul area (Koc, 2016). The recruitment message and all study materials were translated from English into Turkish by the first author, who is fluent in both languages. The message advertised a study on globalisation and self-perceptions, and included the link to the online survey where participants gave their consent, completed pre-manipulation questions, and then were randomly allocated to one of the three conditions: pro-globalisation manipulation, anti-globalisation manipulation, and control. Finally, participants completed all the outcome measures, and were debriefed. Since it is hard to estimate sample size for structural equation models using latent variables, and given the difficulties of sampling gay men in Turkey, we adopted a pragmatic approach to determining the sample size. We kept the survey open for 72 hours, and decided to close when there were no longer new responses. Before starting to prepare the data for analysis, there were over 80 participants per condition, which would usually be sufficient for a one-way ANOVA with 80% power at p-value of .05 with a small to medium effect size of .20 for an experimental design with three conditions.

In total, 257 participants completed the entire questionnaire. However, we excluded 37 participants, because two were younger than 18 years old, six requested to withdraw their data after debrief, 27 participants were self-identified bisexuals, one identified as queer, and one did not specify their sexual orientation . In the final sample (N = 220), the mean age was 28.31 (SD = 8.26) ranging from 18 to 51. Forty percent were students, and the remainder had various occupations. The average

subjective SES was 5.67 (SD = 1.80), measured by asking participants to place themselves on the rungs of a ladder from 1 to 10 (higher scores indicating higher status) in comparison with other people in Turkish society (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000). Eighty three percent were single, 2.3% were married, one person did not disclose their relationship status, and the rest were in a relationship. Using the Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000), we also measured participants' level of 'outness'—how much they are 'out' to a number of other groups about their sexual identity. Overall outness was M = 3.02 on a 7-point scale from 1 to 7 higher scores indicating more outness. Participants were most out to friends (M = 3.90) and least out to people from their religious community, if they belonged to one (M = 1.55).

Design and Analytical Procedure

This was an experimental study with three conditions. We used structural equation modeling with latent factors on MPLUS (Version 6; Muthen & Muthen, 2012), and we tested the effects of the experimental manipulation in a mediation model, allowing us to estimate both direct and indirect effects amongst variables. For this, we first created two contrasts for the manipulation. Since we were interested in whether increased global identification vs. reduced identification would lead to higher gay-male identity integration, we created a focal contrast comparing the pro-globalisation condition (coded 1) against anti-globalisation condition (coded -1, with the control condition coded 0); a second, non-focal contrast compared the average of the two experimental conditions (coded 1) against the empty control condition (coded -2), allowing us to test whether the effects of pro-globalisation and anti-globalisation conditions were significantly asymmetrical.

Boomsma (1982) suggests that samples over 100 are sufficient for structural models using 3 or 4 indicators per latent factor. Accordingly, following the recommendations of Little, Cunningham, Shahar, and Widaman (2002), we created latent factors for each variable presented in Figure 1 using individual scale items, item parcels, subscales or scales as indicators. We describe these indicators below.

Materials[6]

Experimental manipulation. We asked participants to read a text about positive (vs. negative) aspects of globalization (see Appendix 2 for all the measures used in the study). Both authors generated the texts together, highlighting positive or negative aspects of globalization assembled from non-academic and academic sources (e.g., Arnett, 2002). For example, the pro-globalization text referred to globalization as "inclusive and influential in promoting human rights, civil liberties, political freedom, and fair treatment of minorities" whereas the anti-globalization text referred to it as "assimilatory and creating conflicts in economic and social relationships, increasing poverty, and favoring the rich and the elite." In the next page, in order to reinforce the effect of the text, we then presented the participants with four statements extracted from each text separately, and asked them to rank the statements in order of importance to them with respect to their own perceptions of globalization for each condition.[7] Participants then completed the outcome measures.

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[6] Some additional measures were included in the data but not analysed here. We collected pre-manipulation measures of Western, male, and gay identification. We asked participants to rate a number of traits (e.g., manly, fashionable) stereotypically related to gay and male identities in terms of how essential it is to be or not to be like those traits. Finally, we asked participants to complete a measure of internalised sexual prejudice.

[7] When we piloted this novel manipulation, we initially included a third page where we asked participants to write a few sentences about their highest ranked statement; however,

Pre-manipulation identification measures. We measured baseline global identification, Turkish identification, and religious identification before the manipulation, using three items for each construct: "How central in your life is it to be global/Turkish/Muslim?" (anchors: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very central*), "How important is it for you to identify as global/Turkish/Muslim?" (anchors: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very important*), and "How often do you think of yourself as global/Turkish/Muslim?" (anchors: 1 = *never*, 5 = *always*). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores indicating higher identification. We created latent identification factors for each identity, and used these three items as separate indicators. Reliabilities for each factor were acceptable: $\alpha = .80$ for baseline global identification, $\alpha = .86$ for Turkish identification, and $\alpha = .93$ for religious identification.

Global identification. We measured global identification after manipulation with six items derived from a range of well-known identification scales (see Table 2.1 for complete list of items). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher identification. Reliability was acceptable: $\alpha = .86$. We created three item parcels of two items each, as indicators for the latent global identification factor.

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we encountered a high level of attrition at this point, and so we decided to remove this part from the main study to maximise participant retention.

Table 2. 1: *Global identification items*

Items	Source
1. I would describe myself as a global citizen.	(Reysen, & Katzarska-Miller, 2013)
2. To be a global citizen is important for me.	(Rosenmann, 2016)
3. I have a lot common with the global citizens/people.	(Leach et al., 2008)
4. I see myself as a world citizen.	(World Values Survey, n.d.)
5. I feel strongly connected to the world community as a whole.	(Reese et al., 2014)
6. I identify with the citizens of the world	(Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013)

Gay-male identity integration. We used four indicators to measure gay-male identity integration: gay-male compatibility circles (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), two subscales of gay-male identity integration scale (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), and narrowness of gender identity scale (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014).

Gay-male compatibility circles. This is a single-item, pictorial measure with gay and male identities (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Two circles measuring gay and male gradually overlap on a seven-step scale from no overlap to almost complete overlap. Participants were asked to choose the picture that best describes their perception regarding how gay and male identities might relate to one another. The scores ranged from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating higher levels of compatibility between the two identities.

Gay-male identity integration scale. This is a 14-item scale to measure integration between gay and male identities on a personal level (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), based on the bicultural identity integration scale (Huynh, 2009). This scale has two bipolar dimensions, blendedness versus compartmentalization (6 items), and harmony versus conflict (8 items). Example items are “I feel gay and male at the

same time" (blendedness), "Being both gay and male are like being divided into two parts" (compartmentalization), "My gay and male identities are complementary" (harmony), and "My gay and male identities are incompatible" (conflict). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) higher scores indicating higher integration. Reliabilities for each factor were acceptable: α = .67 for blendedness vs. compartmentalization, and α = .85 for harmony vs. conflict.

Narrowness of gender identity scale. This is a three item scale measuring to what extent participants endorse narrow beliefs and stereotypes about their gender group that exclude homosexual people (Falomir-Pichastor, & Hegarty, 2014). A sample item is "Homosexuality is contrary to being a man." Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher narrowness. Reliability was acceptable: α = .83.

Access to gay-affirmative social context scale. We generated four items (one reverse phrased) to measure to what extent gay men have access to social environments or contexts where they feel they are accepted and they can comfortably express their identity. A sample item is "I have social environments that accept me as a gay man". Four items correlated with one another well (smallest r = -.*35* and largest r =.82). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement using a 5-point scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher levels of access to gay-affirmative social contexts. The reliability was acceptable: α = .84.

Subjective well-being. We measured subjective well-being according to the well-known tripartite model (Diener, 1984; Metler & Busseri, 2015), using three indicators: satisfaction with life, positive affect, and (absence of) negative affect.

Life satisfaction. We used a single item from the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) to measure life satisfaction after being adapted to reflect state satisfaction rather than trait. This single item measure was previously found to be valid to reflect life satisfaction as well as the full scale (Cheung & Lucas, 2014). The item used was "Right now, I am satisfied with my life." Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), higher scores indicating higher life satisfaction.

Positive and negative affect. We used six items constituting the positive and negative affect subscales of the Affect Valuation Index (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). Example items are "content" for positive, and "sad" for negative. Participants were asked to indicate how much they felt each affect at that moment using a 5-point scale (anchor: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *entirely*). Reliabilities were good for positive affect $\alpha = .84$, and for negative affect $\alpha = .83$.

Results

Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2. 2: *Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for variables in the study, Ns = 199-220*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	*Mean*	*SD*
1	Turkish identification	-											2.90	1.31
2	Religious identification	.64***	-										2.19	1.35
3	Pre-global identification	.01	-.05	-									3.44	1.18
4	Global identification	-.18**	-.26***	.54***	-								3.59	0.81
5	Harmony (vs. conflict)	-.20**	-.26**	.15*	.31***	-							3.93	0.73
6	Blendedness (vs. compartmentalization)	-.19**	-.26***	.16*	.30***	.78***	-						3.78	0.85
7	Gay-male compatibility circles	-.03	-.13	.06	.06	.26***	.30***	-					5.48	1.80
8	Gender identity narrowness	.01	.05	-.10	-.09	-.48***	-.52***	-.18*	-				1.60	0.69
9	Access to gay-affirmative social contexts	-.27***	-.44***	.29***	.34***	.44***	.44***	.22***	-.18*	-			3.65	1.05
10	Life satisfaction	.17*	.12	.13*	.05	.11	.21**	.14*	-.18*	.23***	-		2.90	1.18
11	Positive affect	.13	.04	.20***	.21***	.22***	.23***	.17*	-.18*	.38***	.62***	-	2.84	0.80
12	Negative affect	.06	.05	-.08	-.13	-.28***	-.33***	-.1	.11	-.36***	-.52***	-.68***	2.93	0.95

Note. *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Manipulation check

First, we ran a univariate analysis of variance using global identification as the dependent variable, and condition as the independent variable controlling for baseline global identification, religious identification, and Turkish identification[8]. There was a significant main effect of condition, $F(2, 214) = 4.71$, $p = .010$, $= .04$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Only pro-globalisation and anti-globalisation conditions were significantly different from each other, $M_{diff} = 0.32$, $p = .011$. Participants in the pro-globalisation condition had higher global identification than participants in the anti-globalisation condition. Other contrasts were not significantly different. Baseline global identification and religious identification also significantly predicted global identification after manipulation.

Measurement Model for Latent Factors

First, we tested a seven-factor measurement model consisting of latent factors for baseline global identification, Turkish identification, religious identification, post-manipulation global identification, gay-male identity integration, access to gay-affirmative social context, and subjective well-being. The model showed acceptable fit to the data, according to Kline's (2005) criteria: $\chi^2(209) = 327.99$, $p < .001$; comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.96; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.05 (90 % CI, 0.04, 0.06); standardised root mean square residual (SRMR) = 0.05. All indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors ($|\beta s| \geq .32$, $p < .001$).

[8] Since there are drop-outs in the online survey and we excluded a number of participants, we decided to control for the same set of variables that we also control for in the path model.

Main Analysis

Using these latent factors, we then tested a structural model of the hypothesized paths from the experimental manipulation (coded with two contrasts as described earlier) through to subjective well-being (see Figure 2.1).

Our structural model showed a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(241) = 380.212$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.95; RMSEA = 0.05 (90% CI, 0.04, 0.06); SRMR = 0.05. Significant paths from this model, as well as the standardized factor loadings, are summarized in Figure 2.2.

Supporting H1, the focal contrast significantly predicted higher global identification ($\beta = .19$, $p = .002$). Supporting H2, higher global identification predicted higher gay-male identity integration ($\beta = .36$, $p = .003$). Combining these paths, the focal contrast had a significant positive indirect effect on gay-male identity integration via increased global identification (indirect effect: $\beta = .07$, $p = .036$). This shows that our manipulation successfully increased gay-male identity integration via increased global identification. Moreover, supporting H3, gay-male identity integration significantly predicted higher subjective well-being ($\beta = .17$, $p = .046$). Yet, the indirect effect from the focal contrast through increased global identification and gay-male identity integration to subjective well-being did not reach significance (indirect effect: $\beta = .01$, $p = .146$).

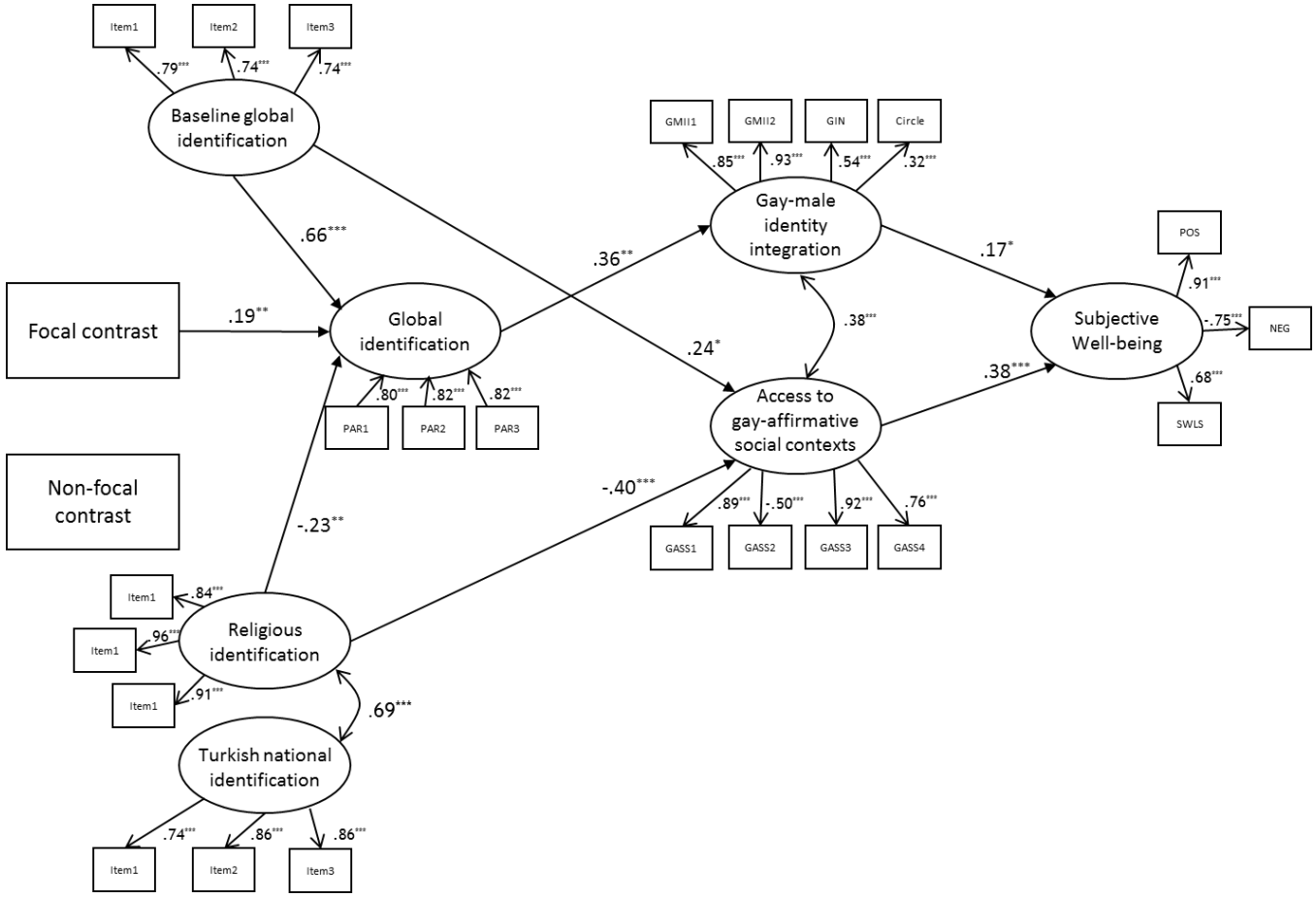

Figure 2. 2: Structural equation model with standardized estimates. Solid lines show significant paths and non-significant paths were not included in the figure ($^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{**}p < .001$)

On the other hand, failing to support H4, global identification was not significantly related to access to gay-affirmative social contexts (β = .10, p = .394). However, there was a non-hypothesized significant path from baseline global identification to access to gay-affirmative social contexts (β = .24, p = .042). Supporting H5, access to gay-affirmative social context was significantly related to subjective well-being (β = .38, p < .001). The indirect effect from baseline global identification to wellbeing via access to gay-affirmative social contexts was marginally significant (β = .09, p = .070).

Finally, failing to support H6, religious identification did not significantly predict gay-male identity integration (β = -.12, p = .252); however, supporting H7, it significantly and negatively predicted access to gay-affirmative social contexts (β = -.404, p < .001). There was also significant indirect effect of religious identification on subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts (β = -.154, p < .004).

The non-focal contrast and Turkish identification did not significantly predict any variables in the model. Turkish identification had a significant covariance with religious identification (β = .69, p < .001).

We also bootstrapped with 10,000 resamples to test the robustness of our findings checking at 95% bias-corrected adjusted confidence intervals (MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). Bootstrapping is useful for indirect effects, which are not assumed to be normally distributed. If confidence intervals do not cross zero, this provides stronger evidence that the effects are robust. Accordingly, confidence intervals did not cross zero for the significant indirect effect of the focal contrast on gay-male identity integration via global identification (95% BCa CI = 0.001 to 0.13),

and for religious identification to subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts (95% BCa CI = -0.279 to -0.029); yet the confidence interval crossed zero for baseline global identification to subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts (95% BCa CI = -0.039 to 0.222).

The final model accounted for 53.7% of variance in global identification, 16.8% of variance in gay-male identity integration, 29.9% of variance in access to gay-affirmative social contexts, and 26.4% of variance in subjective well-being.

Discussion

In this study, we tested if priming pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation) worldviews would lead to higher gay-male identity integration and perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts via increased global identification. We also tested if these changes would be linked to higher subjective well-being. As we hypothesized, priming a pro-globalisation worldview increased global identification and indirectly led to higher gay-male identity integration. Our results provide the first experimental support for previous qualitative (Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012) and correlational findings (Koc & Vignoles, 2016) in the field with respect to gay-male identity integration. Beyond their local importance for the cultural context of Turkey, these findings contribute to larger debates regarding intersectionality of social identities. Extending Shield's (2008) argument that social identities intersect and they mutually constitute and reinforce one another, we brought the first experimental evidence that boosting one social identity can affect the meanings of other social identities—here helping reduce conflict between two other identities and thus supporting identity integration.

On the other hand, priming pro-globalisation worldviews did not significantly alter participants' perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts. We had initially thought that identifying as a global citizen would make participants feel linked to people with whom they can comfortably express their identities. Although priming pro-globalisation worldviews did not lead to higher gay-affirmative social contexts, this idea did receive correlational support in our data. Baseline global identification predicted higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts, and there was marginally significant evidence of an indirect effect extending to higher subjective well-being. Thus, individuals who identified more strongly as global citizens did report more access to these contexts (either mentally or physically); yet the perception of these contexts may not be prone to change at the state level—perhaps because it takes time to engage in and develop a sense of belonging towards such contexts. Access to gay-affirmative social contexts could be another coping strategy for gay men to deal with the threats to their identity, develop positive sense of selves, and increase their wellbeing. Further research should investigate whether these contexts help gay men to satisfy the need for belonging (Bereket & Adam, 2006; Parker, 1999), absence of which can threaten identity (Vignoles, 2011).

Unlike previous research that used a single item measure of global identification (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), one strength of this paper is that participants were primed with different worldviews related to globalisation. This prime helped them increase (or decrease) their identification in the pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation) condition. In some previous research, participants were asked directly what they have in common with Western people or what aspects of global Western

culture they identify with (Rosenmann, 2016); in contrast, we provided them with some content of this identity, and this in turn changed the strength of their identification. However, we used a combination of several content dimensions in the prime, referring to human rights, technology, and global gains or calamities. Future research might involve creating more fine-grained experimental manipulations to see which aspects of globalisation matter more or less for identification and gay-male identity integration.

Moreover, this study extended previous research on the negative relationship between religiosity and well-being for gay men. We found that more religious participants were less likely to have access to gay-affirmative social contexts, which was then negatively related to well-being. However, not all interpretations of Islam condemn homosexuality (see Jamal, 2001), and priming alternative interpretations of Islam such as toleration and doing good deeds for all (similar to Golden Rule primes of Bible; see Vilaythong, Lindner, & Nosek, 2010) may help Muslim gay men reconcile with their own religious identity.

In sum, we extended previous research into gay-male identity integration, with an experimental design and by measuring perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts. Most crucially, the study provides the first experimental evidence for a causal effect of global identification on gay-male identity integration. Future research should unpack other mechanisms involving this interplay of multiple social identities by testing longitudinal effects of global identification on access to gay-affirmative social contexts, identifying the specific aspects of globalisation that foster identification as a global citizen and reinforce gay-male identity integration,

and the effect of alternative representations of Islam on gay-male identity for religious individuals.

PAPER 3: “How happy is the one who says ‘I'm a Kurd”: Silencing and voice in an ethnic group facing extinction threat

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Abstract

Kurds in Turkey are a highly stigmatised ethnic minority group, whose identity and culture are subject to ongoing threats of assimilation and extinction. Negative attitudes towards this group are socially and politically accepted. Such societal prejudice and stigma supposedly threatens Kurdish identity and culture, yet no social psychological research has so far examined the nature of this threat and how Kurds respond to it. We explored the nature of threats to Kurdish ethnic identity, and potential coping strategies, through an interpretative phenomenological analysis of semi-structured interviews with eight Kurds living in Istanbul. Our study was informed by the theoretical framework of Identity Process Theory. We found that suffering was experienced as the very essence of Kurdish identity, both threatening and giving meaning to it. We identified key sources of identity threat—destruction of homeland, identity, and culture, forced migration, experiences of current stigma—and coping strategies—assimilation, separation, longing for the homeland, and gaining a voice. Overall, our findings illustrate how Kurdish people are silenced in many ways leading to their disempowerment, and how gaining a voice can re-empower them.

Key words: identity threat, coping, ethnic identity, Kurdish, extinction threat

Introduction

"When we think of the past it's the beautiful things we pick out. We want to believe it was all like that."

-Margaret Atwood, The Handmaid's Tale, 1985

Expressions of prejudice depend on perceived norms about the acceptability of showing prejudice (Crandall, Eshleman, O'Brien, 2002; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997). In many contemporary cultures, although discrimination and prejudice may be prevalent, there are norms to reduce the legitimacy of prejudice towards certain groups such as gay people, women, immigrants, and old people (e.g., Franco & Maas, 1999; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). However, in some cultural contexts, prejudice is culturally acceptable, and persecution of minorities may be more extreme, undermining their continuity over time (Sani et al., 2007) or even leading to perceived threat of extinction (Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010). Here, we focus on a highly stigmatised ethnic minority group–Kurds in Turkey–whose identity and culture are subject to ongoing threats of assimilation and extinction. Unlike more commonly studied groups in the 'targets of prejudice' literature, stigmatisation of Kurds in Turkey is not just about ingroup favouritism for Turks or categorising Kurds as a devalued group (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It includes direct and explicit attempts to deny Kurdish identity through assimilationist policies, and lack of recognition of their existence as an ethnic group. Accordingly, we explore Kurdish minority members' subjective experiences of, and psychological reactions to, deliberate and systematic attempts to deny their identity and culture in contemporary Turkey.

Historical Background: Discrimination against Kurdish People

Kurds are the largest stateless ethnic minority in the world, and they predominantly live in four neighbouring countries: Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria (Ergin, 2012). Kurds constitute about 18% of Turkey's population, yet they have no official minority status to protect their ethnic identity and culture (Mutlu, 1996). The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 as a nation-state, based on ethnic Turkish nationalism (Yavuz, 2001). Minority status was defined in terms of religion; thus, only non-Muslim groups were given minority rights, such as education in their own languages (i.e., Armenians in Turkey have their own schools). The largest ethnic minority, Kurds, were not officially recognised as a minority, and they faced assimilation policies enacted by successive governments to "Turkicise" them (McDowall, 2004; Yeğen, 2007;). Kurdish people rebelled against these assimilation policies, and governments used military force such as air bombings of villages and violent attacks on civilians to suppress them (van Bruinessen, 1998). Later policies focused more on cultural aspects of Kurdish identity, such as language bans at home and in public, compulsory education in Turkish, and compulsory military service for males (Zeydanlioglu, 2012).

Kurds were thought to be 'savages' that could be educated into Western, civilized, Turkish citizens (Üngör, 2012). Such treatment of Kurds at the State level were accompanied by negative perceptions of and prejudice against Kurds in society (Ergin, 2012). Kurds were perceived to be different, as 'mountain Turks', who lived in the mountains, spoke a different dialect of Turkish, and hence needed assimilating. They were also associated with higher levels of poverty, unemployment, fertility, and lower levels of education and literacy, which increased

the social distance towards Kurds (Içduygu, Romana, & Sirkeci, 1999). Such perceptions eventually led to the marginalisation of Kurds in Turkish society, increasing radicalisation, nationalism, and polarisation (Kirisci & Winrow, 1997). Especially after the emergence of PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party), the 'Kurdish problem' turned into an armed struggle between PKK and the Turkish army, in which over 40,000 people are thought to have died (Çelik & Kantowitz, 2009).

Recent studies investigating the Turkish-Kurdish conflict have focused on intergroup trust (Çelebi, Verkuyten, Köse, & Maliepaard, 2014), on cross-ethnic friendship (Bagci & Çelebi, 2017, 2018) on predictors of negative explicit and implicit attitudes towards Kurds (Koc & Anderson, 2015), and on types of conflict frames by means of which lay people made sense of the conflict (Uluğ & Cohrs, 2016); yet little or no social psychological research in has explored the lived experiences of Kurdish people regarding their ethnic identity, nor how they maintain a satisfactory sense of self in the face of extreme prejudice. Accordingly, we aimed to address three broad questions: i) how Kurdish people define and experience their ethnic identity, ii) what threats do they experience to this identity, and iii) how they cope with these threats. We used Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 1986) as a theoretical framework guiding our exploration of identity threats and coping strategies. We adopted interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) as a methodological approach to gain in-depth insight into our participants' experiences and their appraisals of these experiences.

Theoretical Framework: Identity Process Theory

We conceptualise identity as all aspects of one's self-image, shaped by cognitive, affective, and behavioural processes (Vignoles, 2011). IPT (Breakwell,

1986) proposes that identity is social, dynamic, and contextual, and it highlights the interplay of processes underlying identity construction, threats to identity, and coping strategies. When prevailing social and cultural perceptions of one's group are not congruent with how one sees oneself, this may pose a threat to identity (Breakwell, 1986). Given the nature of attitudes towards Kurds in Turkey and negative stereotypes about their ethnic identity, we expected that members of this group would experience conflicts between these negative perceptions and their sense of self, which would threaten their identities. Accordingly, we explored the nature of these threats and their consequences for Kurdish identity and well-being.

IPT proposes that the processes shaping identity are guided by motivational principles (Breakwell, 1986, 1993). These principles are *self-esteem* (feelings of personal worth), *distinctiveness* (differentiation from others), *efficacy* (feelings of competence), and *continuity* (feelings of connection with one's past, present, and future), with two motives later added into Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011), namely *belonging* (feelings of acceptance) and *meaning* (feelings of purpose, coherence or significance in life). When any external or internal factor impedes satisfaction of these motives, identity is threatened; however, people strive to restore satisfaction by implementing coping strategies (Breakwell, 1986, 1993). Accordingly, we explore the types of strategies employed to cope with threats to Kurdish identity.

IPT has been used as a theoretical framework for examining identity threat and coping mechanisms in various minority groups (e.g., Jewish Israelis: Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2010; British Sikhs: Jaspal, 2013; migrants from former Yugoslavia: Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). Discrimination against Kurds has included very

direct and explicit attempts to deny Kurdish identity through assimilationist policies, and lack of recognition of their existence as an ethnic group. Thus, the focus of IPT on how people respond to identity threat seems well suited to exploring their experiences of, and reactions to, this form of discrimination. Other perspectives on victims of prejudice (or responding to identity threat) tend to focus on specific hypothesised reactions. For example, the rejection identification model focuses on enhanced identification and well-being (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), whereas integrated threat theory examines intergroup hostility (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Similarly, stereotype threat theory explores the internalisation of negative images of one's group (Steele & Aronson, 1995). IPT, in contrast, recognises the multiplicity of possible responses to identity threat based on the context, and offers an overarching and flexible theoretical framework within which these might be explored, identified, and interpreted.

IPT provides a valuable framework for theoretically guided in-depth exploration using qualitative methods (Coyle & Murtagh, 2014). Since no previous social psychological research to our knowledge has explored identity elements and processes in this group, we opted for an in-depth qualitative exploration aiming to provide insight into how Kurdish identity is threatened, and how Kurdish people (re)construct their identity and cope with the threat. Our research questions and the structure of our analysis are informed by a theoretical focus on identity threat and coping. We combined this theoretical framework with the analytical approach of IPA by seeking phenomenological answers to our questions. By developing insights into the lived experiences of members of this under-researched group, we expected to

develop novel theoretical insights into the processes of identity threat and coping among a minority group facing extreme prejudice and lack of recognition.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The sample included eight people of Kurdish origin, with equal numbers of men and women[9]. This is a typical sample size for studies using IPA that allows researchers to explore participants' experiences in sufficient depth. All participants lived in Istanbul, the most metropolitan city in Turkey with a large number of domestic migrants. Five participants had migrated from Eastern Turkey, driven by economic, political, and educational reasons, and two were born into families with migration history. Except for two male participants aged 43 and 50, the participants were young—between 24 and 26. They had lived in Istanbul for between 6 years (university education and afterwards) and 24 years (from birth). All participants were educated with university degrees and had white-collar jobs (e.g., lawyers, instructors, and human resources specialists).

The interviews were conducted in Turkish by the first author. Participants were recruited via the first author's immediate and extended contacts, combining convenience sampling with snowballing. The study was presented as an interview study on experiences of being Kurdish. Participants volunteered to take part in the study and gave written informed consent for voice recording and use of anonymised

[9] We also collected data in Mardin, a predominantly Kurdish city near Syrian border. We originally intended to combine the accounts of participants in the two locations into a single analysis, but we found that the emerging themes were only partially overlapping and so we decided for the current paper to focus on one group only.

data for publication. Three interviews were conducted at participants' offices and five at public cafes.

The interviewer was known to the participants either as a friend or an acquaintance through a close contact. Ethnically, as a Turkish majority member, the interviewer was an outsider to the participants. This was often acknowledged during the interviews.

The interviews were semi-structured. First, participants introduced themselves. If the participant had migrated, they were asked about migration related questions; otherwise, the interviewer asked questions about their families. At this stage, most participants talked about their experiences about being Kurdish, their identity, their language, and prejudice surrounding their identities. The interviews lasted from 45 to 70 minutes, and they were audio recorded and transcribed.

Analysis

We used IPA (Smith et al., 2009) to explore our participants' experiences with respect to elements of, and threats, to Kurdish identity, and their strategies used to cope with these threats. IPA not only helps to describe the phenomena of interest (i.e., here identity threat and coping strategies), but also provides an opportunity to understand how people make sense of their experiences, and how those experiences become a part of their identities (Smith, 2004). This was a very useful approach for us, as we were interested in how Kurdish people maintain their sense of identity in the face of threat. Hence, an IPA guided by IPT as a theoretical framework was well suited for our exploratory research approach. It is important to knowledge that we avoided enforcing the theoretical structure on the data. Once we identified the elements of threat, and coping mechanisms, we used the theoretical insight to

understand which motives were frustrated by the treat, and how coping mechanism helped restore the frustrated motives.

All the interviews were conducted and transcribed in Turkish, which is the first author's native language. The first author translated one interview fully into English, the second author's native language. Both authors thoroughly worked on one script in their respective languages, identifying first impressions, coding the data into themes, clustering them into superordinate themes, and then comparing their analyses. Then the first author repeated the same for the remaining interviews in the original language of the data collection, and the superordinate themes were compared across participants. The second author read numerous excerpts selected by the first author in English translation through several iterations of the analysis, agreed on the analytical outcome, and both authors decided on the quotes presented in this paper. To ensure anonymity, pseudonyms were used.

Results

> [Kurdish] is my identity. Just like my female identity, Kurdish is my identity too. I even think it is more pronounced than my female identity because I feel I suffer more with my Kurdish identity. Or I might be feeling that way because I am more subjected to my Kurdish identity. (Dilan, *Extract 1*)

Our analysis suggested that threat was the very essence of Kurdish identity. Participants often defined Kurdish identity as a product of struggle and suffering. Being the target of oppression, othering, discrimination, and social exclusion gave a meaning to their sense of being Kurdish. Threat was detrimental to their sense of selves and well-being; however, it also helped/forced them to develop various ways of coping to come to terms with their identities. Therefore, suffering was running through every theme. Here we present our findings in two overarching sections: (1)

threat and (2) coping strategies. The first section will be more descriptive as we are largely concerned with documenting the threatening events and experiences that the participants faced. In the coping part, we are more interpretative in relation to how participants made sense of this suffering, which resulted in their own coping strategies.

Threat

Destruction of homeland and military oppression. All participants reported historical accounts of destruction of Kurdish identity and culture especially in Eastern Turkey where Kurds constitute the majority of the population. Some mentioned the major struggles between the State and Kurdish guerrillas[10] in the early 1990s, which led to the physical destruction of Eastern Turkey. For some, there had always been assimilation policies by Turkish State, which targeted the Kurdish identity by wiping out their past and their collective efficacy. Therefore, destruction manifested itself both in forms of realistic (e.g., armed clashes, village burnings, enforced migration) and symbolic threat (e.g., language ban, dehumanisation), and they were both strongly related to the experienced sense of extinction threat.

> Everything was great until 1990s. I don't see that as terrorist or army issue; it was a clash between both of them. Absolutely. It got really chaotic in 90s. The [sounds of] bombs and guns, you know, normally comes from a long distance. It was no longer like that. They were dropped on the hills in the village. People couldn't take their animals far away. You sit down in your house and some stones drop into your garden scattered around after the bombs. Your crops are ruined. Nothing grows there anymore. You are completely ruined psychologically. The bomb dropped a mile away will be dropped on your head very soon. You know this very well. And *you are torn in between*. Either them –the guerrillas; or the State. *They have a conflict and*

[10] People use various words to refer to PKK including terrorists, guerrillas, the Organisation or the Party. As we are voicing our participants' own narratives, we chose to use these words interchangeably and retain the last one that was used by the participants in a given paragraph while interpreting their quote.

> *you are the one being crushed.* Then my dad came and said there was an order to evacuate the village. If we don't, they will shoot everyone. Which indeed happened – people who didn't evacuate were shot dead. The village was burnt down on them. (Neval, *Extract 2, emphasis added*)

The conflicts first started in the villages. There were armed clashes between Turkish army and Kurdish guerrillas. Following these clashes, many villagers had to leave for the city centres and then migrate to big cities in Western Turkey. Hekim was one of them escaping from military oppression. His memories of South Eastern Turkey in his teenage years in early 1990s were vivid: Unresolved political murders were very common, and his two cousins were victims of those murders. Similarly, as Neval emphasised above, the negative impact of the clashes was on the lives of ordinary people, and they suffered the most. These experiences included oppression, sense of helplessness, physical destruction, threat or fear of murder, and complete destruction of Kurdish way of life, undermining particularly sense of continuity and efficacy. Moreover, Neval's repeated use of "you" positioned herself together with the interviewer and in contrast to the guerrillas and the State, who were combined into "they". This implies that Neval tried to ensure the interviewer could identify with her experience. Finally, Neval mentioned a military order to leave everything behind and go; and those who defied the order were silenced–which resonates with later themes.

Similar to others, Berat told stories about soldiers and Kurdish guerrillas both threatening the civilians, and making them feel unsafe:

> My village was not burnt down, but my relatives' was. I never forget this. Well, they have a military station in their village, the men from the mountains [the guerrillas] sneak into the village at night and shoot fire at the station. They kill some 8-10 soldiers. When the soldiers died, some [military] unit comes to the village, gathers everyone around, and burns down all the village by accusing people of not informing the army about terrorists' arrival, of helping the terrorists, and of being terrorist themselves. Barns were burnt

> when animals were inside. Men were tortured. I don't know if anyone died or not, but some men took refuge in the mountains escaping from torture; women lived desperately under the soldiers' control for a few days and took refuge in other villages... there was no security then. Anyone with a gun could stop you and ask for your ID. If they didn't like you or your opinions, they could shoot you in the head and leave you there for someone to find you after sunrise. I am not exaggerating this, because it was actually experienced. (Berat, *Extract 3*)

This quote has similarities with *Extract 2*. There is an extreme display of power, which highlights the Kurds' powerlessness and lack of collective efficacy. There is also an example of miscategorisation. Kurdish people are thought to help the terrorists, which could be seen a way of legitimatising the oppression. Moreover, there is a sense of the intergroup dynamic between Berat and the outgroup interviewer. Berat wants to testify to the horror of the events, but his account also includes several disclaimers that he did not personally witness these things: His village was not burnt down, he does not personally know if anyone died or not. He uses passive voice to explain what happened leaving ambiguous who experienced it. Somehow he seems unsure of his personal credentials as a victim, while in no doubt of the group's victimhood (e.g., Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori, & Gundar, 2009). This resonates with some other stories told by the participants indicating the collective aspect of Kurdish identity, culture, and remembering.

Following *Extract 2*, Berat recalled a personal memory when he was around six years old. This is a good example to show the difference between a collective memory and a personal account. Berat was carrying bread (as supper) to his father and brothers who worked in a nearby village. Stopped by Turkish soldiers, he was unable to communicate with them, and he felt scared and helpless.

> The soldiers showed up. Only two of us, and my brother is really scared. We don't understand any Turkish. Either with hand gestures, or relying on my

> memory, I think they called us near them. I think it was a commander or more senior than others by age. One soldier immediately took the bag from me, and they opened it and found the bread. I can't really exactly know but I think they asked where we were taking the bread to. They didn't give the bread back perhaps thinking that I was taking it to the members of the Organisation [PKK]. I contemplated. We will take the bread and go home, but no, I can't go back home because I haven't delivered the bread yet. That helplessness… I can't speak Turkish, I can't express myself. Suddenly one soldier had some mercy or something and took only one bread and gave the rest back… we delivered the bread, but couldn't tell anyone anything… I think if I experienced this, I believe there are other people who had much bigger troubles. (Berat, *Extract 4*)

These events did not only cause fear in people; some participants referred to those experiences as "traumatic." They also mentioned children crying after their animals burnt to death, mothers singing laments and crying after their sons were taken away either by the army or Kurdish guerrillas, and men undergoing torture and never talking about what happened to them. Going through these experiences, Kurdish people were made to feel inferior and helpless both as individuals and as an ethnic group, which undermined their self-esteem. There was an extreme sense of helplessness undermining both personal and collective efficacy. By burning down the villages, it was attempted to destroy Kurds' connection to their past (Sani et al., 2007) and wipe out their history, identity, and culture.

Forced migration. In the light of the military conflict between the army and the guerrillas, forced migration to big cities was inevitable, but this posed a new set of threats to participants' Kurdish identity. They escaped from the clash between the army and the guerrillas, everything they owned was destroyed, and they started their new lives in disadvantaged positions. Consequences of migration were mostly associated with feelings of isolation, powerlessness, and vulnerability. Neval talked

about the burden she had to go through as a nine-year-old, clearly indicating the negative impact of migration:

> You only understand that you are Kurdish when you come to Istanbul. I came here with my family and for the first time you meet people who are not similar to you. You enter an area largely populated by Sunni Muslims, Turks. You are Kurdish. You are Alevi, and you are from Dersim. If you are from Dersim, it means you are separatist, you are terrorist, you are an assister [to PKK]. You are a piece of shit. A dog is worth more than you are. You see? Because we always hear this. For example, some of my cousins changed their identity cards. It was terrible. I mean you destroy your own life and you become a stranger among a group of strangers… It was terrible at first. For a year, I only wanted to go back to my village. I was constantly sending letters to my friends back there. I still keep my letters. My sister wanted to quit school. That year, I started having gastritis problems. Think about it. You are only 9-10 year old and you have gastritis problems because you don't want to go to school (Neval, *Extract 5*)

For the first time in Istanbul, Neval became aware that she had a distinctive Kurdish identity, but this distinctiveness was extremely negative. It was associated with a number of negative perceptions. She was being mislabelled as a terrorist, and being dehumanised, which implies that her identity was denied to her. When Neval had to leave her village, she was also made to feel like an intruder in her new environment. This is not an uncommon perception of migrants by the host culture (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). As a child, she was seemingly unable to make sense of and cope with this big change, which might be the reason for the somatic symptoms of her unnamed trauma (Lipowski, 1988).

On the other hand, Civan explicitly named his experience as 'real trauma.' Besides being away from his homeland, his isolation was reinforced by the fact that he could not speak any Turkish:

> At first, it was a real trauma for me. Maybe it was easier for the adults, but I was only 7 years old. I spoke Kurdish all my life. I played Kurdish games. When I first came to Istanbul, I can't talk to anyone. I can't go out to play with anyone. Nobody was talking to me, and I myself was unable to talk (to

> them) anyway. I went to school, but I had no courage to talk to anyone. Even if I had the courage, I did not have the language to do it. It was a real trauma for me at first. For the first 3-4 years, only us, me and my siblings, would play together and go out together (Civan, *Extract 6*).

Lack of language was the main reason for Civan's feeling of isolation along with other differences. This initially resulted in a lack of belonging for Civan in his new environment, and he could only be with his own family members. He was also helpless until he learnt to use the majority's language to communicate with them. Dilan thought women experienced more isolation, especially the elderly, because children went to school and men went to work, where they had less difficulty forming new social relationships, whereas women were stuck at home:

> I remember my granny; she would always cry a lot. She used to say, "They made me a prisoner in Istanbul." She had two cows. She lost both of them when they were alive. These cows were even a topic of fun in the village that people would say she loves them more than her husband. These people left everything they had behind and came here. There is nothing there. She had brought a tablespoon from there and she was always using it. It was one of those things she could save from the fire. She would always eat with that. When we got back to the village, she would sit down in front of the fountain and cry. She had a very strong longing for her hometown (Dilan, *Extract 7*).

Some people strongly identify with a place (Altman & Low, 1992), because place identification is known to help people satisfy certain needs such as continuity, meaning, and belonging (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2009). They may think they would lose a part of their identity if that place did not exist. Also, place identification intensifies once someone loses the place (Altman & Low, 1992). Dilan's grandmother is a good example of this, because she felt like a prisoner away from her homeland, and her longing made her suffer with the increased attachment to her lost hometown.

Forced migration is known to disrupt continuity with one's own past (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2002), and this was the case for our participants. They also felt they did not belong to their new environments, and were unable to change this due to lack of Turkish language skills. Moreover, at the intergroup level, they were dealing with the consequences of being associated with negative perceptions. Being distinctive in this case was not positive because it was based on an exclusion principle, and it prevented them from being social and integrated (Brewer & Pickett, 1999). In acculturation terms, this is akin to marginalisation where they were out of touch with their own origin and they could not relate to the new environment (Berry, 1997). Overall, forced migration challenged and undermined a number of identity motives (e.g., continuity, distinctiveness, belonging, and efficacy), and intensified participants' suffering and longing for their homeland.

Experiencing the stigma in the present. After migration, our participants continued to experience stigma in their daily lives either personally or while witnessing others. This stigma was mostly characterised by the negative societal perceptions of Kurds. In other occasions, stigma manifested itself in forms of identity denial.

Negative stereotypes, experiences of discrimination, and dehumanisation. When the interviewer explicitly asked participants the definition of being a Kurd, almost all participants gave the same answer spontaneously rather than expressing subjective experiences of being a Kurd. This answer was a list of negative characteristics, and clearly an indication of how participants thought the majority Turkish society perceived them. These characteristics included being "uneducated, illiterate, ignorant, separatist, bigot, uncivilized, vulgar, dangerous, PKK-

supporters", and being excluded from society. On the other hand, participants also acknowledged that those social representations were wrong, harsh, and discriminatory, and mentioned a number of positive attributes to define what Kurdish identity was. For example, Zilan said Kurds were "warm and sincere", "hospitable", "more traditional", "more in solidarity with each other", and "had stronger family relationships and values". Although she said she was happy to be Kurdish, she told a story which exemplified how she colluded with the stigma at work as a human resource specialist:

> Sometimes it even happens to us; for example, we talk to them on the phone for work, you get that he is Kurdish. You think to yourself, "Can he work? Can he do it?" It is actually his own language. He talks like that. How we like a French accent, we find his accent repulsive. So many bad things, prejudices… If we employ him, someone could say like "why did you employ him?" It is not impossible… It is all about business in our case. Well, he will work in a shop and the customer might have an attitude. They might be prejudiced against Kurds. It might affect the business. This needs to be thought. (Zilan, *Extract 8*)

It is obvious that the impact of negative stereotypes do play a role in daily interpersonal interactions even though people themselves might have different opinions. Zilan, although a self-identified proud Kurd, would not employ another Kurd if they sounded Kurdish and risked customer satisfaction. It is clear that Kurds, as minority group members, were pressured to accept the hegemonic representations around their identity (see Moscovici, 1998). Despite their attempts to distance themselves and reject these negative representations, this still undermined their self-esteem and had detrimental effects on their well-being and intergroup relations.

For some, the negative societal stereotypes about Kurds were related to the consequences of migration, and this made 'the Kurdish problem' a class issue:

> The fact that they [Kurds] were despised caused them to have an inferiority complex and then hate. And the more they reflected this inferiority complex, the more they were despised. They were excluded and outfaced… He is working in sewage… he came from the East, working with his digging tools, in the sewage, and if his manager insults him just because he is Kurdish or speaks Kurdish, he just throws his tools and say "damn this Istanbul," and directly goes to the East and up to the mountains. Such treatment led to such outcome. (Murat, *Extract 9*)

Although Murat did not say these negative stereotypical characteristics were true, his reasoning implied his tendency to have agreed on those attributes. He used the pronoun "they" to refer to Kurds, thus differentiating himself (see also Extract 16, below). His ideas were essentialist: There was a simple causal link between facing discrimination and becoming a terrorist.

Negative as they were, stereotypes discussed above were still human. However, participants also reported other social perceptions of Kurds which were dehumanising–denying them human characteristics and attributing animalistic features (Haslam, 2006). Dilan said she did not want to be associated with the Kurdish identity created by the society, and when the interviewer asked her what this identity contained, she said:

> First of all, they are betrayers. They are separatists. They are terrorists. I mean these are probably what you always have in mind about Kurdish people. These are the most fundamental ones. And there are also things you hear: Kurds are *dirty*, Kurds *smell bad*, Kurds are *ugly*, Kurds have *tails*, Kurds are mountain-Turks, and they originated from the sounds of *"kart kurt".* There is in fact no such ethnic identity. What would you really expect from a language of 500 words? What else… That's it. Their Turkish is bad; people make fun of their Turkish as if Turkish is their mother tongue and they have to speak it properly. That's it. When you say Kurd, these are what come to my mind. (Dilan, *Extract 10, emphasis added*)

The words, 'kart' and 'kurt', are homophonous with 'Kürt' ('Kurd' in Turkish); historically, this derogatory use emerged when political figures defined Kurds as 'to be civilised' Turks who lived in the mountains, and their identity was

defined by the sound of ‘kart kurt’ when they were said to walk on snow and make such noise. Although this explanation is nowhere near rational, it is still publicly used to humiliate Kurds. Along with *Extract 5*, this extract exemplifies denial of identity. Similarly, the ‘tail’ is more a direct likening to animals:

> And you know we have tails. We are everything. Everything but human beings. They are all human, we are going back to being monkeys. (Neval, *Extract 11*)

Although those accounts look similar content-wise, the difference between them are driven by how the participants appraise these perceptions, which is revealed in pronoun use. While Dilan used ‘they’ to refer to the perceptions of Kurds, Neval used ‘we’ and made stigma a part of her identity. This discursive difference might have implications on how the participants negotiated identities. It seems Dilan was clear about what the society thought of her and what she thought of herself, because her choice of “they” was from the society’s perspective which she explicitly rejected to be associated with. However, Neval chose to use “we” to refer to what society thinks of them; and potentially she was more inclined to internalise those negative attributes and their consequences. This implied the importance of appraisals of those characteristics and their impact on individuals’ well-being while they were coping with the threat.

Denial of identity. Our participants experienced denial of Kurdish identity, whereby other people did not accept that our participants could be of Kurdish origin. Civan told one occasion when his high school teacher, with whom he got along well, asked where Civan was from. Civan is from a city in the Eastern Turkey populated by mostly Kurds and Azeris, but his teacher did not accept he could be Kurdish:

> He named all the Caucasian and Turkish communities [in that city], but he wasn't willing to say Kurdish. Finally I couldn't wait any more, and smiling I said "I am Kurdish, teacher. You know you listed all those, and there are mostly Azeris and Kurds there, you should have guessed when I said I wasn't Azeri. His reaction was, "No, you can't be Kurdish."... I was surprised and asked him what he meant, and he said "go ask your parents; you must know wrong. You must be Turkish, certainly some of those clans came from Central Asia." (Civan, *Extract 12*)

The teacher first tended to ignore that Civan could be Kurdish, and when he was explicitly told, he chose not to accept it. While Civan's identity was initially threatened by isolation due to his lack of Turkish skills when he first moved to Istanbul (see *extract6*), his teacher's behaviour implies that the only solution to resolve this isolation is to deny who he was. Although this time Civan was able to communicate in the majority's language, his own Kurdish identity was now denied to him, which feeling him disempowered.

Being expected to deny his identity was a repeated experience for Civan. Once on a public bus, his friend referred to a passenger, who had an argument with the driver, as "Look at this *Kurd*" using the word pejoratively. A week later, his friend used the same phrase referring to a misbehaving Gypsy boy. When Civan confronted his friend, the reaction was the same: His friend told Civan that he was a decent person and "You can't be Kurdish." Civan expressed surprise, but more importantly, he felt frustrated. His identity was not only being denied, it was also associated with negative representations like being ugly or not being decent. Kurds could either endorse this stigmatised identity and its destructive implications for them; or they could hide or deny this identity (as we have identified as a coping mechanism) to avoid such consequences for their identity, which still had detrimental effects on their well-being. Branscombe et al. (1999) suggest that high

identifiers have a greater need for distinctiveness than a positive identity; so Civan seemed to be a high identifier with Kurdish identity. He claimed the distinctiveness it provided, rather than hiding it.

There was also institutional denial of Kurdish identity—the language ban. Kurdish language was banned for decades in public; yet people were born into families where older people, especially women (e.g., Dilan's granny in *Extract 7*), could only speak Kurdish. Hence, children often grew up speaking Kurdish, and sometimes also Turkish. While they lived in the predominantly Kurdish areas, this did not trouble them. However, the struggles emerged in their daily communication with Turkish speakers when they migrated to big cities, or for children mostly when they first started school education in Turkish.

Overall, many aspects of Kurdish identity, social stereotypes imposed by Turkish society, forced migration experiences, and difficulties with the language threatened our participants' identities. They were silenced, and were asked to deny or hide these identities. Now, we try to interpret how they made sense of this threat and came up with their own ways of coping to maintain an overall sense of satisfactory identity.

Strategies of Coping with the Threat

We found that our participants used different coping strategies depending on how they experienced the threat against Kurdish identity and interpreted it in their own way. Some strategies resonated with Berry's (1997) acculturation orientations, which is anticipated in the case of forced migration and adaptation to a new

environment. We present these coping strategies under the following themes: assimilation, separation, longing for the homeland, and gaining a voice.

Assimilation. Assimilation refers to an acculturation orientation where individuals give up their own culture and get absorbed in the majority culture (Berry, 1997). Our participants expressed instances of hiding and disidentification assimilation as coping strategies, and we report them under the theme of assimilation.

Hiding one's identity. Hiding was used as a coping strategy especially during social interactions, and it functioned to avoid being associated with negative social representations. Dilan hid her identity when she was a child, so that her friends would not know about her Kurdish identity and not exclude her. This strategy was driven by shame and fear:

> My grandma cannot speak Turkish at all. Actually, it was a very interesting experience because I remember such things like if I had to call home and my grandma answered the phone rather than my sister, I would hang up on her without talking to her if there were other people around me. Why? Because I didn't want my friends to know that I was Kurdish. Well, I remember that I never invited my friends to our house. None of my friends because my grandma was there and she would speak in Kurdish. This was a direct indication that we were Kurdish. (Dilan, *Extract 13*)

When Dilan was further asked why she hid her identity, she said:

> You are scared of being a terrorist, being labelled like that. You are scared if they will not be friends with you or scared of being excluded. All these force you to hide your identity. (Dilan, *Extract 14*)

Previously, we presented that denial of identity (including institutional language ban) threatened Kurdish identity. Although hiding here was used as coping, it is similar to denial because one is "forced" to hide, and hence deny, their identity. This is called *passing*, "getting people to believe that you are something that you are

not" (Breakwell & Rowett, 1982, p. 46; also see Tajfel, 1975). But this only happens when stigma is less visible. Not all Kurds were able to achieve passing, because either their names, their physical appearances, or in some cases where they were from (as place of birth is indicated in national identity cards) gave away their Kurdish identity. One interesting example is Sanem. She was strongly against hiding her identity when the interviewer asked her if she ever did, yet she said there were times when she avoided to reveal her identity for fear of exclusion at work. This was an example of her compartmentalisation:

> I have never been extremely political like turning my thoughts into action, but hiding it, denying it, finding it repulsive are against my position. Maybe I am happy with it and I don't deny it. I can say I can stand behind this. But can I always take risks? For example, at work, if there a discussion of politics, I look around and my thought don't go together with people there at all. I don't see a reason to stand out and be a hero, because it might have a negative impact on me. Rather than fear, you feel like you can't change anything. And they will label you too and it won't gain you anything. (Sanem, *Extract 15*)

Either out of shame or fear of social exclusion, it is clear that both Sanem and Dilan were silenced when they had to hide their identities. Neither one benefits from this hiding in the long term; they feel shame, fear of ostracism, disempowerment or lack of efficacy to change things. Hence, it seems that these strategies are not necessarily useful for their well-being.

Disidentification – being a "good Kurd". Only one participant, Murat, seemed to disidentify himself from ethnic Kurdish identity. He said that neither his father nor his siblings would probably identify as Kurdish. In some ways, disidentifying could be seen as a more extreme case of hiding in which one hides and believes it oneself (or hides from oneself). There was a mutual relationship, whereby they did not identify and the Turkish society did not label them in return:

> Since we did not feel ourselves like that [oppressed] in the society, nobody looked at us as if we were Kurdish. It is weird but nobody said anything about us being Kurdish or qualified us with that (Murat, *Extract 16*).

Here, Murat implies that oppression or suffering is a source of Kurdish identity—and perhaps one is not even truly Kurdish if they have not suffered enough. This resonates with Dilan's extract where she states that suffering as a Kurd makes her ethnic identity more pronounced (*extract* 1). Murat, as a person who has not suffered or felt oppressed, Kurdish identity is rather irrelevant.

When later asked how important it was for him to state that he was Kurdish, Murat replied: "Not at all. Frankly, if you had not asked this question, nobody would ever ask me and I would never say it." Murat was born into a wealthy Kurdish family where he grew up with Kurdish culture, but he felt no need to endorse this identity. He was a rich successful lawyer, which helped him differentiate himself from other Kurds who had lower class jobs like sewage workers (see *Extract 9*). In terms of social identity theory, Murat attained individual mobility, where people dissociate themselves from the group and achieve upward social mobility (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individual mobility, however, requires lowering identification, or even disidentifying. It could then function as an effective coping for self-esteem, because negative stereotypes no longer reflect on those who disidentify (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Murat was a low identifier, and this strategy was seemingly effective for him. However, this also made him into what other participants described as a "good Kurd". According to Dilan, good Kurds are "assimilated and ideal Kurds who do not support PKK, so they are not terrorists", and this idea of Kurds who are not 'too Kurdish' reflects the majority's ideal form of

Kurds. Therefore, it is perceived as a source of shame by other group members, and creates tension for intragroup relations.

Separation. Separation, in contrast to assimilation, is characterised by an individual's desire to choose their own culture over the majority culture (Berry, 1997). Both Civan and Neval reported that they did not have much contact with new people when they first moved to Istanbul, but their reasons were different. Civan moved into a suburb, where his family did not know anybody, and they were not in touch with any relatives. He was scared to talk to people at school and he could not speak Turkish, so he was indeed unable to communicate with anyone even if he wanted to (see *Extract 6*). Moreover, his neighbours did not let their children play with Civan and his siblings, just because they were Kurdish. Hence, despite the age difference between siblings, they always played together. Contrarily, Neval said she was lucky enough to move into a neighbourhood where she had lots of relatives who had migrated before them. She increased her ingroup contact and identification with likeminded people by spending more time with her relatives, but still, her experience was far from pleasant:

> It was all about… not making friends from outside with nobody. Nobody! You don't make friends with anyone, when you only hang out with your relatives, spend time with them, the longing decreases a little. Because whenever you are with them, the jokes are the same, the others will not get those jokes. They won't understand! You'll be like 'what is she saying?' I don't know… There are so many common things. But you have nothing in common with the person you sit on the same desk [at school]. Nothing. Except being humans. There is nothing else. (Neval, *Extract 17*)

When possible, it seems there was an increasing solidarity among siblings or relatives, and avoiding any contact with others, yet this could be both beneficial and costly for individuals. For example, Neval expressed an extreme sense of exclusion.

She saw nothing in common with her classmate sitting next to her. Similarly, Civan wanted to play with other children, but other children's parents did not give permission. Hence, this is an example of segregation rather than separation, because it is enforced upon individuals instead of being based on their own choices (Berry, 1997). Spending time with likeminded people, remembering the same jokes, and playing the Kurdish games were some of the strategies in the absence of feeling accepted and included by others. However, it was not useful to adapt to a new life or find their way among new people, because they would only find comfort among themselves and this would make it harder to feel connected to the larger society.

Longing for the homeland. Some participants seemed never to have lost hope that they would return to, or else recreate in some form, their homelands. While waiting for this, they relied on their fantasy worlds or used psychological resources from their past in forms of nostalgia.

"Will go back soon". While some migrated participants were aware that they would never go back to their homelands again, some had difficulty accepting this. Making oneself believe they would go back soon was a coping strategy:

> I always had in mind to motivate me that we would go back soon. This is temporary here… Since I was young, I always thought that going back would be sooner… But actually I could not cope with it; could not soothe myself. Comforting yourself was just impossible, because you miss it. You miss everything… You left all your close relatives behind and you miss them. You miss your friends. You even miss your animals. Therefore there is no way to soothe yourself or cope with that feeling of longing. There is always a longing living within you. But it was always like: we will go, we will go. It was the only way to cope with it…Well, then the longing would last until we go there again. There was no way to cope with the longing until we started going regularly (Civan, *Extract 18*).

This desire to go back soon was also evident for others. Neval kept writing letters to her friends and talked to them on the phone for hours (*Extract* 5), whereas

Dilan's granny ate her meals with the spoon she saved from the fire in her house in the village (see *Extract 7*). But for some, there was no more home behind; or for those who never lived in Kurdish areas, their families had moved away because there was nothing left behind. They all had to find other ways to deal with the loss.

Although Civan tried to cope with the longing by motivating himself that he would permanently move back to his hometown soon, this was neither very useful nor true. In the failure of the above strategy, Civan developed another coping strategy which seemed to work better for him:

> Whenever there was some Turkish history or mention of Ataturk, I *would replace it with Kurdish heroes*. If there was a poem written for Ataturk, I would read it for the person in my mind whom I would think of a Kurdish hero… When you feel that the society thinks you are an enemy, you become more involved and obsessed with your own community. Those times, like during primary or secondary school, being Kurdish was a sacred thing for me. It was much more important [than now]. I was trying to replace everything with Kurdish things that the dominant Turkish culture was trying to mould me into. Whenever one said 'how happy is the one who says I'm a Turk ', I would say 'how happy is the one who says I'm a Kurd'. (Civan, *Extract 19*)

In terms of Berry's (1997) acculturation model, this last instance could be seen as an example of extreme separation or even marginalisation. Since Civan could only spend time with his siblings and was unable to make new friends, his coping largely relied on his intrapsychic capacity for fantasy (see Breakwell, 1986). He could do such coping on his own, whereas the desire to "go back soon" could only disappoint him, the more unattainable a goal it became.

***Prospective nostalgia*.** Nostalgia is defined as a sentimental longing for one's past. So far, we already exemplified some experiences of nostalgia in the coping strategies: Civan was playing Kurdish games with his siblings, and Neval was laughing at Kurdish jokes while she was socialising with her family, all of which

were parts of this nostalgic past before they had migrated to Istanbul. They had memories of the good old days of Kurdish people, and those memories were reinforced with positive collective stories about Kurdish culture and identity, which sometimes they had not seen or experienced themselves. In this respect, nostalgia might have functioned as a coping mechanisms, because it is known to increase meaning in life, optimism, subjective well-being, and reduce stress, boredom, and death related thoughts (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2017). It also restores continuity with one's past (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, & Arndt, 2015) and is thought to buffer against acculturative stress (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt, & Zhou, 2009).

We believe our participants benefited from the positives of nostalgia, yet these experiences also sometimes led to separation and did not facilitate their adaptation to their new environments (see *Extract 17*). On the other hand, we identified an unexplored novel aspect of the construct, which we named as prospective nostalgia. We define *prospective nostalgia* as a longing for a future the content of which is filled with positive past experiences. In other words, positive past experiences are projected into an aspired future which might be very different than the present. This theme was particularly evident in the stories of those participants who were rather political. They mentioned hope, expectations, and aspirations about a brighter future and talked about how things would be better very soon just like the old times referring to their years in their villages or to pre-conflict years. This implies that our participants were not only nostalgic about the past, but also took it further to imagine and to build a future which was in line with positive memories of the past. When we asked Dilan if she missed her hometown, she said:

> No, not really. I mean I can't say I have. There is something though. *I want a place where there are only Kurdish people and I can live there comfortably*. But I don't know if it is my village I miss. If I can't go abroad in the next 10 years, I plan to move to Kurdistan. Maybe Diyarbakır… I don't want to live in a place where Turks are the majority. Because as long as I live there, I don't feel like my ethnic identity is normal. I endorse it as a very political identity, but actually I need to live it normally. I mean it is like how a Turk experiences their Turkishness, maybe even they don't remember that they are Turkish if not asked. But it is always in my mind. (Dilan, *Extract 20, emphasis added*)

Dilan talked about a fantasy place. She wanted to build a future which connects her past with her present and her future. She wanted to have a normal life, and she knew what it would look like: just like how it was before things started getting worse. Her longing was not only for going back to her past, but for going to a future as good as her past, achieving to restore her continuity entirely (Sani et al., 2007; Vignoles, 2011). Prospective nostalgia may foster access to cognitive alternatives (Zhang, Jetten, Iyer, & Cui, 2012), whereby individuals focus on a future with improved opportunities rather than on the adversities of the present, and strengthen desired possible future selves (Oyserman & James, 2011), which may then be related to well-being.

Gaining a voice. We described earlier how some participants made sense of their experiences of being silenced, and regained their voice as Kurds and reclaimed their identities.

Politicisation and reclaiming the language. Our participants reported that they were made to suffer due to their Kurdish identity, and they also witnessed others suffering. Interestingly, suffering did not necessarily increase their identification. Some increased their identification after being politicised and feeling

empowered by participating in collective action, engaging in activism, or by the recent political gains (see Drury & Reicher, 2000).

One key aspect of having a politicised identity was reconnecting to the Kurdish language. As Berat said "if we are to talk about identity, we cannot deny language." For some, the language never disappeared. Civan always used Kurdish at home, as his mum and his disabled sibling could not understand any Turkish. Hekim and Neval had always been bilingual, and they never feared of losing Kurdish. For others, loss of language threatened the identity. Dilan thought she would lose her sense of distinctiveness in the absence of language:

> Well, once there was a period when I was almost about to forget Kurdish because I was not speaking it anymore; not really forgetting but was very much limited. I just looked at myself and said, "There is only your language which will differentiate you from a Turk when they look at you. And you are now losing it. This assimilates you. This alienates you from your identity." In this way, I decided and started going to a (Kurdish language) course. Has it been effective? Yes, it has absolutely been effective. I now always speak to my mum in Kurdish at home. *Losing my language feels like losing my identity.* (Dilan, *Extract 21, emphasis added*)

Our participants also mentioned some facilitating factors for their politicisation and the recent political gains. Some attributed the gains to the years-long political and armed struggle of Kurdish people fought for all oppressed Kurds. Some also acknowledged the efforts of the government's democratisation process which officially started in 2012 and involved ceasefire and meetings with PKK's imprisoned leader[11]. Neval said she no longer feared using Kurdish language in public, and she made an effort to show people that her identity and her language were no longer oppressed. Sanem said it had become easier for her to express her

[11] The peace process was reported to be disrupted after some attacks by PKK, and then almost completely after the general elections in 2015.

political views at work. Civan believed the Kurdish youth would become more politically active and revive the Kurdish language without fearing their lives. But for some, what Kurds eventually gained was even more important: Hekim prioritised human lives over anything:

> There is no value in singing laments for someone who dies. A calamity only really affects its immediate victims." (Hekim, *Extract 22*)

Hekim expressed his happiness that the ceasefire would mean that people would no longer die in clashes between the army and PKK. He has personally experienced losses in his family and had feared for his own life when he was younger; therefore, the ceasefire had a special significance for him. He thought Kurds would finally have a voice and an identity that would be recognised.

Relying on religious identity. Not all examples of gaining a voice involved political empowerment. Berat thought religion was the only uniting force that could bring Turks and Kurds together. For him, religious identity was more important than national or ethnic identity. He thought there would be no discrimination as long as Turks and Kurds were united with the same religion. This explains his distance from the armed struggle, and this was his solution to the conflict:

> It is against my beliefs because I cannot destroy my religion just to build a nation. I talk about it from my own perspective and I think PKK has been very distant from religion. Distant with respect to my expectations or my family. Therefore I have to have a distance between me and PKK. Seeking rights and fairness is indispensable. Even a small child cannot accept unfairness towards themselves. One way or another, he wants to take revenge or want to feel accepted. But he would not want to give up everything. He would not want to lose his identity or existence. (Berat, *Extract 23*)

PKK is known as a non-religious political movement. For some, it means being anti-religious, and being against religious people and values; while for others it only distances itself from religion so that any Kurd can identify with it regardless of

one's religiosity. This conflict has been at the centre of the Kurdish movement, and most Kurds have made decisions to support the movement based on their own perception of PKK's alignment with religion. For Berat, PKK was clearly not sympathetic enough to religion. This prevented him from supporting it, and motivated him to rely on an overarching identity for coping. In some cases, identification with a third social identity may be useful to reconcile other incompatible identities (e.g., Koc & Vignoles, 2016); here, Berat relies on religious Muslim identity to reduce the conflict between Kurdish ethnic and Turkish national identity.

Positives of oppression. Some participants also mentioned some positives of being oppressed. Sanem said, "Being a Kurd helped me become empathetic" whereas for Civan, oppression helped Kurds develop themselves more and be more democratic. Most said the oppression started the Kurdish movement which valued gender equality, democracy, development, and equal rights for any oppressed identity. Despite all the suffering, when we asked Dilan if she wanted to be from another ethnicity, she said:

> I think I subtly have this kind of feeling that I have rage against Turks. Hence the idea of being Turkish does not appeal to me. I even feel disturbed. I would again want to be a minority in Turkey if I could choose. (Dilan, *Extract 24*).

It was interesting to see Dilan's journey through different identity stages. As a child, she had been hanging up the phone to avoid speaking in Kurdish to her grandmother lest her friends would understand her Kurdish identity; then, she thought losing her language felt like losing her identity. Now she was so strongly connected to her minority identity that she would want to be a minority again if she

was not Kurdish, so that she could still empathise with those oppressed. Neval switched between various coping strategies specifically striving for a more psychologically rewarding one over time, and finally seemed to find her own voice.

Discussion

In this study, we explored the elements of Kurdish identity, threats to Kurdish identity, and strategies of coping among Kurdish people in Turkey, using IPT as a theoretical framework and applying an IPA on the interview data. Our analysis revealed that suffering was the core of Kurdish identity, and the identity was threatened in multiple ways. These threats tended to be various kinds of extinction threat–either physical attempts to destroy the group's way of life, self-determination or language, or various kinds of denial of participants' Kurdish identity. Depending on the context and the nature of the threat, our participants adopted different coping strategies which helped them restore their sense of identity with respect to a number of undermined identity motives (Breakwell, 1986; Vignoles, 2011).

Kurdish identity in Turkey is marked by institutional attempts to forget, postpone, and cancel the very identity (Yeğen, 1996); however, all these attempts received different responses from Kurdish people. Kurdish struggle and internal displacement actually created a collective Kurdish history and identity. Negative stories about what happened to a participant, a neighbour or a relative were quite similar across the participants in this sample. This implies that those experiences became collective memories for Kurdish people surrounding their identities, which were passed onto others who even had not themselves experienced them. Even though their language was banned and their relation to the past was continually

destroyed, they were able to keep a connection via these stories. Thus, cultural continuity for Kurdish identity was achieved despite all the attempts, and this may have positive implications for well-being, because collective continuity can buffer against the fear of extinction (Sani et al., 2007; Sani, Bowe, & Herrera, 2008; Wohl et al., 2010).

The narratives also contained very emotional undertone. There were still fear, frustration, confusion as well as hate and rage. Participants dealt with these emotions differently: either denied or supressed them, or used them to empower themselves. Moreover, the emotions were not simply associated with the past memories and left behind. The switches between past and present tense in the narratives suggested that the emotions were still embodied in the memories, and they were re-experienced while narrating. Therefore, recalling a memory may have different implications depending on the content of the memory or how the participants construe their meaning into their identities in the present.

This study also acknowledges the importance of acculturation into identity processes within an intergroup context. Brown and Zagefka (2011) suggest that acculturation processes should be conceptualised in terms of intergroup relations. The experiences of oppression, identity denial, forced migration, and language ban threatened not only the individual identities, but also the Kurdish ethnic identity as a whole. Hence, the overall fear of extinction or how Kurds coped with this threat is equally important as how our participants individually responded to it.

Our analysis has also generated some novel theoretical insights. Over and above the obvious threat of physical extinction through violence, and the threat of being labelled with extremely negative and dehumanised stereotypes, a key insight

from our analysis showed the interplay between being silenced and regaining one's voice. This points to a social dimension of (dis)empowerment in relationships with others, rather than a cognitive dimension of positive and negative evaluation, as the most prejudice and discrimination research tends to focus on. Future research should explore ways to enable people to regain their voices in the face of being silenced.

One limitation of the current study is the changing cultural context. When the first author conducted these interviews, there was a peace process in Turkey accompanied by a ceasefire between the Turkish army and Kurdish movement. Kurds were given, and promised that they would be given, more democratic and civil rights. Kurdish language was supported and promoted by the government, through setting up public Kurdish language course centres and opening a state TV channel in Kurdish. In this environment, people were hopeful and optimistic about the future. In MICT terms, this process may have helped Kurdish people to feel that they start to satisfy their identity motives: being Kurdish was no longer a negatively distinct identity (distinctiveness); they started being proud of being Kurdish (self-esteem); they felt they were accepted by the State and the society (belonging); they no longer feared for the future existence of their identity (continuity); they had a purpose in life to build a better future (meaning), and they felt competent to do so (efficacy). Therefore, how the participants perceived and experienced Kurdish identity might have been influenced by this change and the interviews could have been different if this study was conducted now. Nonetheless, the participants talked about a Kurdish identity as a whole, which included all the historical aspects, collective memories, as well as sufferings.

Although the choice of method limits generalisability, our aim here was to gain insight into the experiences of our participants in terms of threatened identities and coping strategies. We believe these identity elements are also relevant for people who have been through similar experiences elsewhere, and these coping strategies bear the potential for interventions in similar contexts. Another limitation might be due to nature of the sample. All participants were from Istanbul, and they had white collar jobs. We know from out unpublished dataset that the experiences of people who were unable to migrate were even more negative, and their identities were threatened more severely. Yet we also found that there is a collective aspect of the suffering which gives meaning to Kurdish identity. Therefore, we believe we were able to capture some of the experiences of other people who were not in this sample.

Another potential limitation of this study is the outsider position of the interviewer. The first author of this paper is ethnically Turkish, and the participants were aware of this. Although they were friends or extended contacts of the first author, and they expressed their contentment about being given a voice via this research, their responses may have been affected by this intergroup tension. Yet we believe this is less of a concern because they still shared their personal and collective stories including various emotions, and they saw this research as a chance to connect to a member of the group that oppresses them. The first author also prompted them to extend or clarify anything during the interviews which they may have taken for granted for him to know. This prevented the first author from making assumptions while analysing their data. Similarly, we may have sensitised to generate certain themes in the light of our theoretical framework. Therefore, it is important to iterate that although our questions and structure of the analysis were driven by the theory,

we sought to find phenomenological answers to our questions. Afterwards, we tried to link them back to the theory. However, the analytical outcome may have differences if the data were analysed by other researchers.

Overall, this study provides insights into the identity processes of a group of people suffering from chronic identity threat (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). For them, the threat is an integral part of their life, and their coping and reconstruction of their identities are an ongoing process. Structural changes such as lifting the language ban or providing equal rights are crucial to reduce the threat in their lives as well as improving the intergroup relations. In the meantime, future research should investigate the effects of various coping strategies found in this study to establish their effects on Kurdish identity and well-being of the individuals while restoring the satisfaction of their identity motives at individual and group-level.

PAPER 4: Testing the effect of collective nostalgia on identity motives and well-being for ethnic Kurdish minority living in Turkey

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Abstract

Previous research has shown that nostalgia for the 'good old days' can function as a motivational resource for individuals and have positive consequences for identity processes and well-being. However, for a highly stigmatised ethnic minority group whose identity and culture are under extinction threat, nostalgia might also augment the discrepancy between one's positive past memories and the adversities of the present. Accordingly, in a sample of 273 Kurds living in Turkey, we tested whether experimentally induced collective nostalgia would improve well-being for this group, and we also tested whether this effect could be mediated by identity motives at personal and group levels, ingroup identification, group entitativity, and cognitive alternatives. We also attempted to differentiate between three types of nostalgia: one's unexperienced, experienced, and future-oriented nostalgic memories, whereby the latest includes projecting nostalgic memories into one's future. We found that people felt nostalgic after the manipulation regardless of the experimental conditions, yet we found no evidence of nostalgia improving well-being. Taken together, the positive effects of nostalgia may depend on sample characteristics, and nostalgia may not be beneficial for a highly stigmatised minority group. Future research should test the effects of collective nostalgia where other ingroup members are actively involved in the process of reminiscence instead of isolated personal reflections.

Key words: collective nostalgia; identity motives; subjective well-being; cognitive alternatives; ingroup identification

Introduction

"You can suffer nostalgia in the presence of the beloved if you glimpse a future where the beloved is no more."

-Milan Kundera, Identity, 1997

Nostalgia is defined as a sentimental longing for one's past (The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 1998). Over the last 15 years, social psychological research has brought considerable evidence presenting nostalgia as a psychological and motivational resource that helps people find meaning in life (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2017). While simple reminiscence of 'good old days' can help people cope with challenges in the present and increase their well-being (Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006), this relationship may rely on the content of the remembered past, and how it relates to one's present and potentially to their future. This is the first study to investigate the effect of nostalgia for a very different sample. Unlike previous studies, Kurds living in Turkey is a highly stigmatised ethnic minority group whose identity and culture are under continuous threat of extinction (Koc & Vignoles, 2018).

Think about an ethnic minority living in an oppressive society in an ongoing conflict. Their distant past, which they have not themselves experienced, is full of positive memories that defines a pure and unspoiled pre-conflict period. Their experienced past has mixed memories bridging the good old days and the beginning of the conflict, when their villages were destroyed in air bombings and they were internally displaced, leaving the source of the 'good old days' behind. In the present, they continue to experience the repercussions of the conflict, whereas the future

bears uncertainty with the fear of extinction of their culture and identity. For this group, nostalgia may not function as a psychological resource and bolster all positive associated outcomes, and further, it may even be maladaptive or detrimental. If there is a discrepancy between the past and the present and there is uncertainty about the future, would this prevent nostalgia from serving as a psychological resource? Contrarily, if the past is full of positive and joyous moments, can this nostalgic past still have the power to increase optimism about an alternative future and help empower people to strive for this future?

In this study, we sought to answer the above questions. We investigated whether collective nostalgia, remembering a past event that includes one's ingroup, would provide psychological resource for well-being for Kurds living in Turkey. We also tested whether this relationship could be explained by a number of theoretically relevant mediators such as identity motives at individual and group levels, ingroup identification, perceived group entitativity, and cognitive alternatives.

Nostalgia as a Psychological Resource for Coping

Previous research on nostalgia focused on its content, triggers, and functions (e.g., Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006), and presented nostalgia as a motivational force which can potentiate an attainable future (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016). Nostalgia was found to increase meaning in life, optimism, inspiration, creativity, and subjective vitality, and to reduce stress, boredom, and death-related thoughts (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2017). These relationships were mediated by a number of variables, such as social connectedness (Routledge et al., 2011) self-esteem (Cheung, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2016; Stephan et al., 2015), and self-

continuity (Sedikides et al., 2016). Moreover, some of these effects were replicated cross-culturally with UK and Chinese participants (Sedikides et al., 2016, Study 2).

Although positive effects of nostalgia on personal outcomes are well established, little research has examined whether nostalgia can function at the collective level and have benefits for group outcomes as well as the individual. Only recently, researchers reconceptualized nostalgia at the collective level as a group-level emotion (Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Van Tilburg, & Sedikides, 2014), and investigated whether it can be beneficial for the group while affecting group processes (Wildschut et al., 2014) and intergroup relations (Cheung, Sedikides, Wildschut, Tausch, & Ayanian, 2017). This collective nostalgia involved remembering a nostalgic event related to one's ingroup.

Wildschut et al. (2014) found that those who remembered a collective nostalgic event increased ingroup favouritism compared to those who remembered a personal nostalgic event or a non-nostalgic event. Similarly, Smeekes (2015) found that collective national nostalgia for the Netherlands increased ingroup favouritism, but also elicited negative outgroup attitudes towards non-Western immigrants, because it reinforced essentialist perceptions of the national Dutch identity. Findings by Cheung et al. (2017) also showed that when primed with collective nostalgia, participants from Hong Kong expressed anger towards Mainland China and showed higher involvement in collective action that benefits the Hong Kong residents. Overall, the evidence suggests that collective nostalgia can favour the ingroup while disturbing the intergroup relations.

Other than the intergroup context, a few other instances show that the effect of nostalgia may be maladaptive. For instance, in a study with habitual worriers,

Verplanken (2012) found that, immediately after nostalgia induction, participants reported increased positive affect, yet they subsequently reported higher negative affect and anxiety. Sedikides et al. (2016) argued that this might be due to the fact that nostalgia may decrease self-continuity for habitual worriers. On the other hand, Iyer & Jetten (2011) argued that the effect of nostalgia can depend on the extent to which people see their past and present identities are connected. In this case, self-continuity moderates the effect of nostalgia rather than mediates it, because if the past is not available to people, people may try to hold onto the present. Accordingly, it becomes relevant to investigate these opposing claims further in sample of Kurds, whose past, present, and future are under constant threat of extinction.

Kurds as a Highly Stigmatised Ethnic Minority

Kurds are the largest stateless ethnic minority in the world, and they mainly live in four neighbouring countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (Ergin, 2014). Although they constitute about 18% of Turkey's population, they have no official minority status–a barrier to the maintenance of their culture and ethnic identity (Mutlu, 1996). When the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, the State implemented a number of policies to form a unified nation-state, including compulsory education in Turkish, and a Kurdish language ban at home and in public so that Kurds could be 'Turkicised' and 'integrated' into society. However, Kurds rebelled against these policies, and governments used military oppression to suppress them, which resulted in forced internal displacement and extinction threat for Kurds and their identity and culture (Koc & Vignoles, 2018).

These structural attempts to annihilate Kurdish identity also affected public attitudes. Turkish majority members mostly hold negative implicit and explicit

attitudes towards Kurds (Koc & Anderson, 2015), and they associate Kurds with a number of negative variables such as higher levels of poverty, unemployment, and fertility, and lower levels of education and literacy (Icduygu, Romana, Sirkeci, 1999). Combined, these negative societal perceptions continue to threaten Kurdish identity and make Kurdish people experience the stigma in their daily lives. However, when identities are threatened, people also seek ways to cope with the threat (Breakwell, 1986).

Previously in a qualitative study with Kurds from Turkey, we identified a number of coping strategies used by our participants against threats to their ethnic identity (Koc & Vignoles, 2018). Some of these coping strategies were not adaptive; for example, some participants chose to hide their identity to avoid stigma whereas some separated themselves from Turkish majority and only socialised with other Kurds. On the other hand, some participants reported the positive benefit of nostalgia that helped them keep going. For example, playing Kurdish games that they used to play before migration, listening to Kurdish songs, and remembering memories with old friends and family members helped them cope with the difficulties in the present. This supports the propositions by Sedikides and colleagues that nostalgia can be a resource in coping with acculturative stress because it may increase positive affect, continuity, and social support (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt, & Zhou, 2009). Accordingly, we tested the effect of nostalgia on Kurdish identity and well-being as a coping strategy against identity threat.

Motivated Identity Construction Theory as an Integrative Theory of Identity Motives

Previous research on nostalgia focused on a number of variables that are relevant and beneficial for identity and well-being, yet none of these studies examined the effects of nostalgia on all of these motives at once. Furthermore, both Iyer and Jetten (2011) and Wildschut et al. (2014) suggest that these effects require investigation both at personal and group level. For example, nostalgia was established to boost self-continuity and then well-being (Sedikides et al., 2016). Collective nostalgia may similarly boost group-level continuity, which then is known to be positively linked to health and well-being (S. A. Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). Accordingly, we aimed to provide the most comprehensive investigation to date by first bringing together a number of motivational forces for identity, and looking at the effect of nostalgia on them both at individual- and group-level using Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011; Thomas et al., 2017).

MICT (Vignoles, 2011) proposes a comprehensive theory of motivational principles for identity construction and enactment. According to MICT, people have at least six discreet identity motives, satisfaction of which has positive implications whereas frustration would have negative implications for the individual. People strive to satisfy these motives in order to attain certain identity states and avoid others. For instance, people are motivated to feel that their lives are meaningful (meaning motive); to feel that their past, present, and future are connected (continuity motive); feel positively about themselves (self-esteem motive); to feel distinct from others (distinctiveness motive); to feel included and accepted

(belonging motive); and to feel competent and capable of coping with challenges (efficacy motive).

A number of studies have so far used MICT at the individual level and provided evidence that people not only strive for self-esteem while constructing their identities, but also seek for the satisfaction of the other five motives (e.g., Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006). Recently Vignoles (in press) argued that studying identity processes at both personal (individual-level) and social (group-level) provides better insight into how identity dynamics mediates the relationship between the individual and society. Thomas and colleagues (2017) examined both personal and social identity motives in sports teams, and looked at their effect on group membership (Thomas et al., 2017). They found that the more one's team satisfied some of the personal identity motives (i.e., self-esteem, meaning, efficacy, and belonging), participants identified more with their group. Moreover, above and beyond personal identity motives, participants' identification was higher to the extent that their own perception of their group satisfied these motives at the group level (e.g., 'I see this team competent and capable" for efficacy). Hence, MICT provides a holistic framework to investigate the effect of these motives at individual and group-level.

Other Mediators: Ingroup Identification, Group Entitativity, and Cognitive Alternatives

We were also interested whether the effect of nostalgia on well-being would be mediated by other variables. First, we included a measure of ingroup identification. Wildschut et al. (2014) established collective nostalgia as a group-level emotion that is socially shared rather than being limited to particular one-to-one

interactions. For example, when Dutch participants were made to think about the good old days of the Netherlands, they became nostalgic about their own nation. This increased positive ratings of their ingroup (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). Accordingly, we expected that ingroup favouritism could be extended into ingroup identification, which is known to be positively linked to aspects of well-being such as increased life satisfaction and reduced stress (S. A. Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005).

Second, we included a measure of group entitativity. For a group of people whose culture and identity face extinction threat, we expected that collective nostalgia might trigger memories about shared cultural beliefs and values for one's group, which are the antecedents of group entitativity (Sani, Todman, & Lunn, 2005). Group entitativity may then predict subjective well-being for Kurds, based on the previous literature that it predicts collective self-esteem, positive emotions, and psychological well-being (Herrera, Sani, & Bowe, 2011; Sani et al., 2007).

Finally, we tested whether nostalgia would affect people's access to cognitive alternatives. Iyer and colleagues argue that when a cognitive alternative is envisaged to a group's current low status, "group members focus on the prospect of improved opportunities and resources for the group in the future, rather than its current adversity" (Iyer, Zhang, Jetten, Hao, & Cui, 2017, p. 2). Previous research found that awareness of cognitive alternatives increased disadvantaged group members' self-esteem in segregated schools in China (Zhang, Jetten, Iyer, & Cui, 2012) because cognitive alternatives might help individuals change their attitudes and behaviours in order to attain this alternative future (Tajfel, 1978). Since other research suggests that personal nostalgia increases optimism (Cheung et al., 2013, 2016), at the

collective level, we thought nostalgia might also impact cognitive alternatives. Moreover, we previously found that stigmatised group members may envisage and strive for a future as a coping mechanism, which is similar to their nostalgic past and better than their present (Koc & Vignoles, 2018). Thus, we included cognitive alternatives to test these ideas.

Overview of the Present Research

We tested if induced nostalgia would increase subjective well-being for Kurdish minority group in Turkey. We also tested if this relationship would be mediated by a number of theoretically relevant variables. Based on previous research, we expected that nostalgia would increase the satisfaction of personal and social identity motives, ingroup identification, group entitativity, and cognitive alternatives, and then indirectly well-being.

To invoke nuanced forms of ethnic nostalgia, we adapted national nostalgia manipulation (previously used by Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014) into three different forms of nostalgia. We defined nostalgia as the sentimental longing for the good old days in all conditions, and prompted participants to focus on different things in respective conditions. In the *unexperienced* condition, we asked participants to think about good old days that happened before they were born, because we wanted to test if their collective memories about their group would function the same regardless of their personal experience or not. In the *experienced* condition, we asked them to think about their memories of Kurdish past, so that we could effectively differentiate whether experienced and unexperienced collective memories function differently. In the *prospective* condition, we asked them to think about which things from this past they would long for in the future. This last

condition was based on Koc and Vignoles (2018), and aimed to test whether an explicit reference to future would function differently because the idea of longing implies an implicit future orientation. Nonetheless, we did not make specific predictions about the effect of these conditions separately.

Method

Participants and Procedure

We recruited the participants via friends and using online social networks in Turkey. The recruitment message and all study materials were translated from English into Turkish by the first author, who is fluent in both languages. The message advertised a study on Kurdish identity, and included the link to the online survey where participants gave their consent, and then were randomly allocated to one of the four conditions: unexperienced nostalgia, experienced nostalgia, prospective nostalgia, and control. Finally, participants completed all the outcome measures, and were debriefed. Since it is hard to estimate sample size for structural equation models using latent variables, and given the difficulties of sampling Kurdish people in Turkey, we adopted a pragmatic approach to determining the sample size. We kept the survey open for over a month, shared the link daily, and decided to close when there were no longer new responses. Before starting to prepare the data for analysis, there were over 90 participants per condition, which would usually be more than sufficient for a one-way ANOVA with 80% power at *p*-value of .05 with a small to medium effect size of .20 for an experimental design with four conditions (required minimum $N = 199$).

In total, 389 Kurdish people from Turkey completed the entire questionnaire. Based on our predetermined exclusion criteria, we excluded 116 participants. First we excluded seven participants who requested to withdraw their data after debrief, five participant that were identified as duplicates, one participant who lived the majority of their life (30 years out of 43) outside Turkey. Then we excluded participants based on manipulation failure: 58 participants left the manipulation text box empty, and forty five participants wrote things that were irrelevant or against the condition they were in (e.g., "There is no such thing as Kurdish nostalgia"). The first author and one independent coder separately coded the participants' answers for exclusion, and the interrater reliability was almost perfect, Cohen's $\kappa = .974$. Although we are aware that this a substantial amount of participants, these criteria were set before the data analysis started. It is hard to know how the manipulation affected the participants in the absence of any text and it is a clear manipulation failure when participants express explicit disagreement with the content of the manipulation. In the final sample ($N = 273$), we had 63 participants in the experienced nostalgia condition, 75 participants in the experienced nostalgia condition, 61 participants in the prospective nostalgia condition, and 74 participants in the control condition.

Fifty six percent of the sample reported to be men, 20% were women, 1% was other, and 23% did not report their gender. The mean age was 29.65 ($SD = 8.53$) ranging from 18 to 64. Forty one percent were students, and the remainder had various occupations. The average subjective SES was 5.12 ($SD = 1.77$), measured by asking participants to place themselves on the rungs of a ladder from 1 to 10 (higher scores indicating higher status) in comparison with other people in Turkish society

(Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000). Forty four percent identified as religious (80% of which was Sunni Muslims, 3% Alevis, and 17% marked as other) whereas 33% did not identify with any religion (and 23% did not answer the question).

Materials

Experimental manipulation. All participants in three experimental conditions were asked to read short extracts on Kurdish nostalgia. As described previously, we defined nostalgia as the sentimental longing for the good old days in all conditions, and prompted participants to focus on different things in respective conditions. In the unexperienced condition, we asked participants to think about good old days that happened before they were born. In the experienced condition, we asked them to think about their memories of Kurds' past. And in the prospective condition, we asked them to think about which things from this past they would long for in the future. Participants were then asked to write down 3-4 sentences about how they relate to these nostalgic experiences. An example text for the unexperienced condition is below (see Appendix 4 for manipulation texts for all conditions, and all the other measures used in the study):

"The term 'nostalgia' means a sentimental longing for the good old days. People sometimes sentimentally long for how Kurds used to live in the past; for those good old days. For instance, they long for the way Kurdish society was, how daily life looked like, and how people interacted with each other. Do you sometimes long for those good old days before you were born, which you have never seen/experienced but heard through stories? Please bring to mind the good and nice things about Kurdish life in the past that you have heard from others. Which things

from the historical Kurdish past, before you were born, evoke nostalgia in you? Please write down what you miss from those good old days and how much this makes you feel nostalgic (use 4 sentences maximum)."

Modelling on Smeekes, Verkuyten, and Martinovic (2014), we asked the participants to bring to mind a past event involving Kurdish people, and we asked them to write about this event being as factual, clear, and detailed as possible like a historian. We included this condition to effectively differentiate collective nostalgic experiences from merely collective historical events:

"Please bring to mind a past event involving Kurdish people. Try to think about this event as if you were an eye witness. Specifically, try to envisage this event as if you were an historian who wants to record all facts about the Kurdish past. Please write about this event below, being as factual, clear, and detailed as possible. (use 4 sentences maximum)."

All the participants then responded to nostalgia items, and the outcome measures.

Nostalgia. We measured nostalgia with four items. Three items tapped on each one of the experimental conditions separately, while the last item measured generic state nostalgia. The items were "Right now, I am feeling quite nostalgic about those good old days of Kurds before I was born", "Right now, I am having nostalgic feelings about my memories of Kurdish past", "Right now, I am longing for a future for Kurdish people that is similar to good old days", and "I feel nostalgic at the moment." Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Personal identity motives. We measured personal identity motives with 24 items. We asked participants, "Right now, how much do you feel…" and presented them with statements measuring individual-level state continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, self-esteem, meaning, and belonging. Participants responded on a 9-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *not at all*, 9 = *entirely*). Since this scale was new, we report the psychometric properties in the result section. Table 4.1 includes items for each motive together with standardised factor loadings and scale reliability values.

Social identity motives. We measured social identity motives with 12 items (out of an initial item pool of 24 items). We asked participants, to what extend they thought each statement described Kurdish people and presented them with statements measuring group level group continuity, distinctiveness, efficacy, esteem, meaning, and belonging. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Since this scale was new, we report the psychometric properties in the result section. Table 4.1 presents items for each motive with standardised factor loadings and scale reliabilities.

Table 4. 1: *Individual and social identity motive items, standardised factor loadings, and alpha values and correlations for reliabilities of each motive*

Personal identity motives		**Social identity motives**	
Continuity	α = .53		*r* = -.29
… a sense of continuity between past, present and future in your life?	.382	Kurds have an identity that comes from the past to today and from today to the future	.594
… connected to who you were in the past and who you will be in the future?	.478	Kurds do not have continuity from the past to future	-.579
... that there is not much continuity in your life?	-.595		
… disconnected from who you were in the past, or might be in the future?	-.482		
Distinctiveness	α = .54		*r* = -.43
… distinctive?	.596	Kurds are different from other ethnic groups	-.733
… distinguishable from others?	.569	Kurds are similar to other ethnic groups	.596
… indistinguishable from others?	-.345		
… that you are not distinctive?	-.539		
Efficacy	α = .64		*r* = -.53
… confident to achieve your goals?	.638	Kurds deal with challenges well	.745
… in control?	.469	Kurds are powerless	-.744
… unable to fulfil your goals?	-.597		
… unable to deal with challenges?	-.600		
Esteem	α = .67		*r* = -.33
… satisfied with yourself?	.651	Kurds have a number of good qualities	.697
… that you have high self-esteem?	.691	I think Kurds have nothing to be proud of	-.522
… that you do not respect yourself?	-.649		
… that it is unpleasant to think about yourself?	-.469		
Meaning	α = .83		*r* = .-43
… that your life is meaningful?	.804	Kurds have a meaningful identity	.691
… your life as a whole has meaning?	.699	Kurds do not have a meaningful identity	-.661
… that your life is meaningless?	-.783		
... that there is no meaning in your life?	-.685		

Table 4.1 *(continued)*

Belonging	α = .68		*r* = -.37
… included?	.478	Kurds are a part of this society	.571
… accepted?	.724	Kurds don't fit in this society	-.675
… excluded?	-.579		
… rejected by others?	-.667		

Ingroup identification. We measured ingroup identification with 12 items (out of an initial item pool of 26 items). The item pool included all 13 items from the identification scale by Leach et al. (2008), seven corresponding negatively worded items from the disidentification scale by Becker and Tausch (2014), and we created six new negatively worded items. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Since this scale was new, we report the psychometric properties in the result section. Table 4.2 includes items for each factor together with standardised factor loadings and scale reliability values.

Cognitive alternatives. We measured cognitive alternatives with four items (one negatively worded) by extending the single item measure used by Zhang et al. (2012). Items were "In the future, Kurds will have the same opportunities as other people", "In the future, Kurds will be treated equally as other people", "In the future, Kurds will be able to use Kurdish freely in any aspect of their lives", "In the future, Kurds will not be socially accepted as equals in society (reversed)". Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Four items correlated with one another well (smallest *r* = *-.65* and largest *r* =.89). We computed a composite scale of four items for the subsequent analyses. Reliability was good: α = 91.

Table 4. 2: *Ingroup identification scale items, standardised factor loadings, and alpha values for reliabilities of each subscale*

Identification		
Solidarity	β	α = .68
I feel a distance between myself and Kurds.	-.453	
I have nothing in common with Kurds.	-.343	
I feel solidarity with Kurds.	.678	
I feel committed to Kurds.	.628	
Centrality		α = .66
The fact that I am Kurdish is not core to my identity.	-.642	
Being Kurdish is nothing to do with how I see myself.	-.686	
The fact that I am Kurdish is an important part of my identity	.637	
Being Kurdish is an important part of how I see myself.	.710	
Satisfaction		α = .72
I am unhappy about being Kurdish.	-.599	
Being Kurdish gives me a bad feeling.	-.738	
I am glad to be Kurdish.	.550	
It is pleasant to be Kurdish.	.546	

Group entitativity. We measured subjective group entitativity with four items (two negatively worded). Items were "Kurds are unified/interconnected", "Kurdish people stick together", "Kurds are not inclusive of other Kurds", and "Kurds are divided amongst themselves". Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Four items correlated with one another moderately (smallest r = -.*24* and largest r =.41). We computed a composite scale of four items for subsequent analysis. Reliability was reasonable: α = 61.

Subjective well-being. We measured subjective well-being using four indicators: satisfaction with life, positive affect, (absence of) negative affect, and subjective vitality.

Life satisfaction. We used a single item from the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) to measure life satisfaction, adapted to reflect state rather than satisfaction trait. This single item measure was previously found to be valid to reflect life satisfaction as well as the full scale (Cheung & Lucas, 2014). The item used was "Right now, I am satisfied with my life." Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (anchors: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

Positive and negative affect. We used six items constituting the positive and negative affect subscales of the Affect Valuation Index (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). Example items are "satisfied" for positive, and "unhappy" for negative. Participants were asked to indicate how much they felt each affect at that moment using a 5-point scale (anchor: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *entirely*). Reliabilities were good for positive affect $\alpha = .85$, and for negative affect $\alpha = .75$.

Subjective vitality. We measured subjective vitality with seven items using Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan & Frederick, 1997). An example item is "I feel alive and vital". Participants responded on a 7-point scale (anchor: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Reliability was good: $\alpha = .90$.

Results

Scale Construction

Since we have three new scales created and used in this study, we first report the construction process of our new scales as well some psychometric properties, before we report the results of our main analysis.

Personal identity motives. For personal identity motives, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis with 24 items. We modelled six correlated latent factors for continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, self-esteem, meaning, and belonging, as well as an uncorrelated method factor that loaded onto every item fixed at 1 to account for acquiescent responding (Welkenhuysen-Gybels, Billiet, & Cambré, 2003). The model showed acceptable fit to the data, according to Kline's (2005) criteria: $\chi^2(236) = 328.30$, $p < .001$; comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.94; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.04 (90 % CI, 0.03, 0.05); standardised root mean square residual (SRMR) = 0.05. All indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors ($|\beta s| \geq .35$, $p < .001$). Standardised factor loadings and scale reliabilities are reported on Table 4.1.

Interim analysis. Before running factor analyses for social identity motives and ingroup identification scales, we first ran a few interim confirmatory factor analyses to differentiate social identity motive of esteem and satisfaction subscale of ingroup identification. We believe the existing items in the ingroup identification scale referring to pride (e.g., I think my group has a lot of be proud of) does not measure identification; instead, they measure group-based esteem or collective self-esteem. To disentangle that, we first ran a confirmatory factor analysis with two factors for social identity motive of esteem (4 items) and satisfaction subscale of ingroup identification (8 items), as well as an uncorrelated method factor that loaded onto every item fixed at 1. The global model fit was poor; $\chi^2(52) = 151.79$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.85; RMSEA = 0.09 (90% CI, 0.07, 0.11); SRMR = 0.07. Negatively worded items in satisfaction subscale had low factor loadings, and more importantly, two items referring to group-based pride from satisfaction subscale showed high

modification indices to cross-load onto social identity motive of esteem. In the next model, we removed one satisfaction item which had a factor loading less than .30, yet this did not improve the global fit. Then, we allowed two group-based pride items from satisfaction subscale to cross-load onto esteem factor, and reran the model. This model showed an acceptable global fit; $\chi^2(50) = 103.67$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.93; RMSEA= 0.07 (90% CI, 0.05, 0.09); SRMR = 0.06, and two group-based pride items no longer significantly loaded onto satisfaction subscale. This confirms that group-based pride items are not an aspect of identification, but they measure social identity motive of esteem. In the subsequent analysis, we included these two items in the social identity motives, and removed them from the analysis in identification scale.

Social identity motives. For social identity motives, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis with 26 items, four items per motive except for esteem where we also included two "pride" items from ingroup identification scale. We modelled six correlated latent factors for group-based continuity, distinctiveness, efficacy, esteem, meaning, and belonging, as well as an uncorrelated method factor that loaded onto every item fixed at 1. The model showed poor fit to the data; $\chi^2(283) = 569.90$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.75; RMSEA= 0.07 (90% CI, 0.06, 0.07); SRMR = 0.08. After a number of modifications on the model, we constructed a scale including one positively and one negatively worded item for each motive. The final model showed an excellent global fit; $\chi^2(38) = 33.41$, $p = .681$; CFI = 1; RMSEA= 0.00 (90% CI, 0.00, 0.04); SRMR = 0.04. All indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors ($|\beta s| \geq .52$, $p < .001$). Standardised factor loadings and correlations between items in each factor are reported on Table 4.1.

Ingroup identification. After excluding two pride items, we ran these analyses with 24 identification items. Leach et al. (2008) identified five components of ingroup identification: satisfaction, solidarity, centrality, self-stereotyping, and in-group homogeneity. However, we believe this scale has at least two shortcomings. First, as we have already demonstrated, group-based pride is not an aspect of identification, but it is an aspect of a social identity motive. Second, the existing scale contains no negatively worded items. Therefore, we added negatively worded items corresponding to the existing items in the scale, and decided to reinvestigate the factor structure of the scale. Accordingly, random intercept exploratory factor analysis (RI-EFA) was better suited for our aim over confirmatory factor analysis. RI-EFA extends the standard exploratory factor analysis by including a random intercept factor that accounts for the acquiescent response style (Aichholzer, 2014). The researcher determines the number of factors to be acquired, yet the items are not hypothesized under certain factors as in the case of confirmatory factor analysis. Accordingly, based on Leach et al. (2008), we ran a model asking five factors to be extracted using maximum likelihood estimation and quartimin rotation, and we fixed the factor correlations with the random intercept at zero. This model showed a marginally adequate fit to the data, yet ingroup homogeneity items did not load onto any single factor, and one factor was uninterpretable (Model 1; see Table 4.3 for model results). We decided to remove ingroup homogeneity items, because we believe these items do not measure identification (e.g., Kurdish people are very similar to each other). Next, we ran another RI-EFA asking for four factors to be extracted. This model also showed adequate fit to the data (Model 2), yet factors were not interpretable. Next, we ran a RI-EFA with three factors. This model showed

acceptable fit to the data, and the factors were clearly distinguishable (Model 3). In comparison to the original Leach model, solidarity and self-stereotyping items loaded onto the same factor. However, there are a few issues. First, one item did not load onto its expected factor; and the three items had substantial cross-loadings. Next, we removed these four items, and model 4 showed acceptable to fit. There were still four items cross-loading, and in model 5, we removed them. Our final 3-factor solution showed excellent fit and contained four items (2 positive and 2 negative) in each subscale for solidarity, centrality, and satisfaction. Items, standardised factor loadings and scale reliabilities are reported in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 3: *Global fit indices for different models tested for ingroup identification scale*

Model details	# of items	χ^2	df	p	CFI	RMSEA	90% CI	SRMR
1 5-factor	24	321.64	204	< .001	.92	.05	.04-.06	.04
2 4-factor	20	161.47	115	< .001	.96	.04	.03-.06	.03
3 3-factor	20	200.63	132	< .001	.94	.05	.03-.06	.04
4 3-factor modified	16	92.99	98	.067	.98	.03	.00-.05	.03
5 3-factor modified	12	37.14	32	.244	.99	.03	.00-.06	.02

Main Analysis

Manipulation check. To test whether experimental manipulation had an effect on nostalgia, we ran a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using four nostalgia items separately as dependent variables, and condition as between groups variable (see Figure 4.1). We found a significant effect of condition on nostalgia, showing that our manipulation was successful; $F(12, 688.19) = 3.01$, $p < .001$, Wilk's $\lambda = 0.874$, partial $\eta^2 = .044$. Univariate ANOVAs also confirmed that the condition had significant effects on all four manipulation check questions (all *p*s < .05). We then examined between group differences using a difference contrast.

First, to test whether there is an overall effect of nostalgia vs control, we compared the average of nostalgia conditions (coded 1) against the control condition (coded -3). Second, to test whether experiencing nostalgia personally differs from unexperienced collective nostalgia, we compared unexperienced (coded -1) against experienced nostalgia condition (coded 1, with the other conditions coded 0). Finally, to test whether projecting nostalgic feelings into a future differs from simply feeling nostalgic, we compared prospective nostalgia (coded 2) against other nostalgia conditions (coded 1-, with control condition coded 0). We used the same contrasts in the rest of the analyses.

Only the first contrast (combined nostalgia vs control) made a significant difference on all our nostalgia measures (all *p*s < .001). None of the other contrasts were significant. We can conclude that our experiment had a significant effect on nostalgia, yet nostalgia conditions were not significantly distinguishable from one another. Moreover, this difference was not different for different manipulation questions. Whenever nostalgia is evoked by unexperienced or experienced memories or in its relation to a future, people felt equally nostalgic for those good old days that they have seen or not, and they equally longed for a future. Figure 1 shows means and standard deviations for all four nostalgia items across four conditions.

Since there were no differences in the manipulation check questions, we computed a composite score of nostalgia to use in the subsequent analysis. Four items correlated with one another well (smallest $r = .47$ and largest $r = .71$). Reliability was good: $\alpha = 84$.

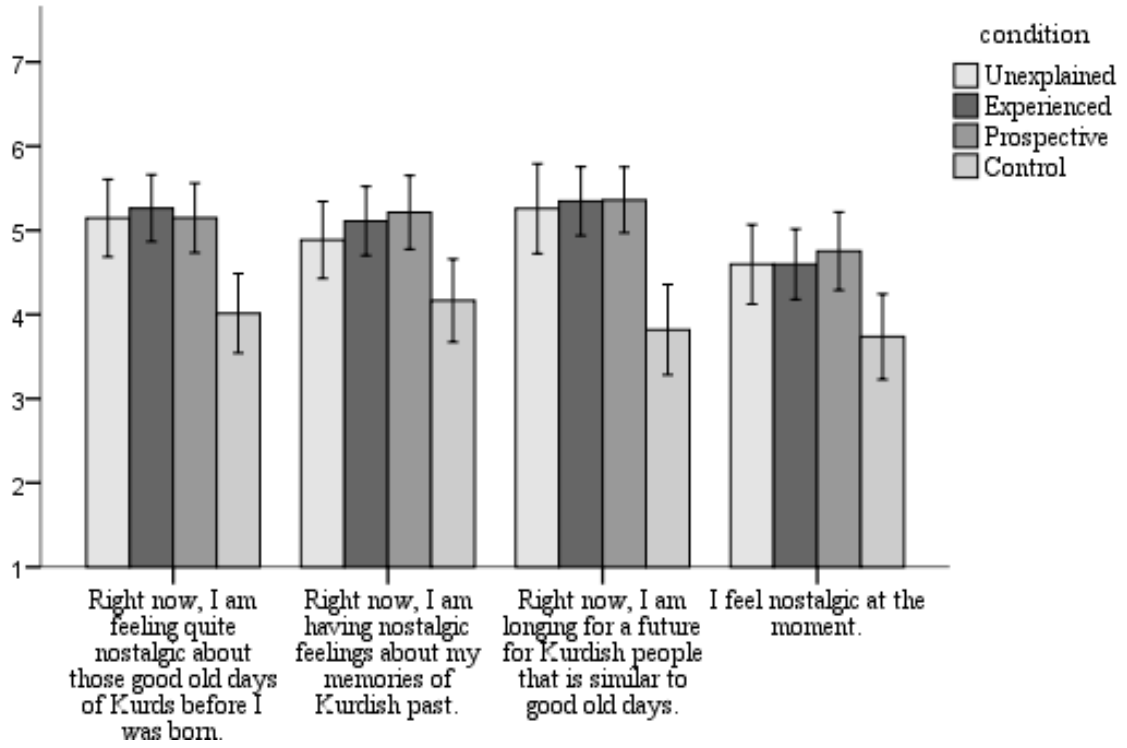

Figure 4.1: Manipulation check (nostalgia) items across four conditions. Error bars represent standard deviations

Testing the experimental effects. Then we ran four separate MANOVAs for personal identity motives as a set, social identity motives as a set, three subscales of identification measure, cognitive alternatives, and entitativity as a set, and four indicators of subjective well-being as the final set.

As for personal identity motives, we found no significant effect of condition; $F(18, 591.63) = 1.53$, $p = .074$, Wilk's $\lambda = 0.879$, partial $\eta^2 = .042$; although univariate ANOVAs indicated that the condition had a significant effect on meaning, $F(3, 214) = 2.84$, $p = .039$; partial $\eta^2 = .039$, and efficacy motives, $F(3, 214) = 6.56$, $p = .011$, partial $\eta^2 = .051$. For meaning, none of the contrasts was significant. For efficacy, the difference was significant for unexperienced vs experienced nostalgia conditions, $t(214) = -.595$, $p = .018$, CI = -1.086 to -.103. People felt higher efficacy if the nostalgia was evoked by an unexperienced collective memory. However, we

acknowledge that this is likely to be a Type I error given the number of tests conducted.

As for social identity motives, we found no significant effect of condition; $F(18, 653.85) = 0.959$, $p = .506$, Wilk's $\lambda = 0.829$, partial $\eta^2 = .024$. None of the univariate ANOVAs was significant.

As for identification, entitativity, and cognitive alternatives, we found no significant effect of condition; $F(15, 585.64) = 0.73$, $p = .755$, Wilk's $\lambda = 0.950$, partial $\eta^2 = .017$. None of the univariate ANOVAs was significant.

As for subjective well-being indicators, we found no significant effect of condition; $F(12, 553.25) = 1.31$, $p = .206$, Wilk's $\lambda = 0.928$, partial $\eta^2 = .024$. None of the univariate ANOVAs was significant.

Correlations. Using the composite nostalgia score, we ran partial correlations with other measures while controlling for three contrasts created out of experimental conditions (see Table 4.4).

As shown in Table 4.4, nostalgia did not significantly correlate with any personal identity motives or any indicators of subjective well-being. It only significantly correlated with social identity motive of esteem, with solidarity and centrality subscales of identification scale, and with cognitive alternatives. On the other hand, subjective well-being indicators did not significantly correlate with any of these variables that nostalgia did, and they significantly correlated with other variables that nostalgia did not. Accordingly, we expect no significant (indirect) effect of nostalgia on subjective well-being via these variables as mediators. In the next section, we demonstrate these with three path models for each set of mediators.

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Table 4.4: *Means, standard deviations, and partial correlations after controlling for experimental conditions, Ns = 216-273*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Mean	SD
1	Nostalgia																						4.76	1.59
2	Continuity	.05																					6.62	1.28
3	Meaning	.08	.55***																				7.02	1.64
4	Self-esteem	.05	.57***	.58**																			6.98	1.29
5	Distinctiveness	-.02	.39***	.37**	.40**																		6.60	1.34
6	Belonging	-.09	.24***	.28***	.41***	.27***																	6.19	1.46
7	Efficacy	-.05	.56***	.53***	.61***	.41***	.46***																6.05	1.35
8	Group continuity	.08	.20**	.16*	.12	.21**	.05	.19**															6.36	0.89
9	Group meaning	.05	.15*	.08	.20**	.21**	.15*	.20**	.38***														5.93	1.33
10	Group esteem	.18**	.15*	.14*	.10	.18**	-.01	.13	.34***	.17**													5.99	1.01
11	Group distinctiveness	.10	-.09	-.04	-.03	-.06	-.01	-.18**	-.16*	-.06	-.17**												3.66	1.46
12	Group belonging	.12	-.01	.00	.08	.10	.13	.03	-.09	.08	.01	.23**											5.42	1.49
13	Group efficacy	.01	.17*	.13*	.18**	.20**	.16*	.28***	.42***	.32***	.38***	-.09	.08										5.80	1.21
14	Entitativity	.10	.13	.03	.06	.04	.10	.15*	.27***	.14*	.26***	-.19**	-.07	.29**									3.40	0.88
15	Solidarity	.21**	.29**	.22**	.19**	.10	-.02	.21**	.38**	.27**	.30**	-.25**	-.11	.25**	.28**								5.51	0.97
16	Satisfaction	.10	.28***	.21**	.25**	.21**	.21**	.38***	.33***	.18**	.41***	-.28***	.10	.38***	.29***	.42***							6.12	0.90
17	Centrality	.14*	.20**	.10	-.01	.17*	-.13	.07	.28***	.08	.23***	-.30***	-.15*	.07	.25***	.42***	.32**						5.36	1.22
18	Cognitive alternatives	.17*	.20**	.24**	.26**	.19**	.24**	.23**	.19**	.12	.18**	.04	-.03	.34***	.13	.24***	.14*	.03					5.48	1.47
19	Positive affect	.00	.30***	.38***	.36***	.20**	.39***	.41***	-.17*	.02	-.07	-.05	.11	-.02	.08	.02	.14*	.09	.14*				2.99	0.75
20	Negative affect	.06	-.30***	-.46***	-.43***	-.23**	-.46***	-.43***	.08	-.05	.02	.01	-.06	-.10	-.04	.03	-.19**	.02	-.13	-.61***			2.53	0.81
21	Life satisfaction	-.05	.34***	.40***	.33***	.23**	.30***	.42***	-.05	.08	-.01	.05	.08	.04	.03	-.11	.13	.01	.08	.58***	-.48***		3.17	1.06
22	Subjective vitality	-.03	.29***	.46***	.44***	.17*	.25***	.49***	-.07	.06	.10	-.13	.05	.08	.03	.13	.22**	.02	.07	.56***	-.41***	.50***	3.11	0.81

Note. *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Path models. To test whether nostalgia has an effect on well-being via different sets of theoretically driven mediators, we tested three models. For identity motives, we used observed variables, and for the last set of mediators, we used latent factors. We used items as indicators for the latent factors except for wellbeing for which we used positive and negative affect, satisfaction with life, and subjective vitality scales as indicators. Although there are paths modelled from contrasts to all outcome variables, and covariances modelled amongst mediators, we did not include them in the figures to attain clarity.

In the first model, we tested whether nostalgia would predict personal identity motives, which then would predict higher subjective well-being. The model fit was acceptable: $\chi^2(73) = 138.65$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.95; RMSEA = 0.6 (90% CI, 0.04, 0.07); SRMR = 0.04.

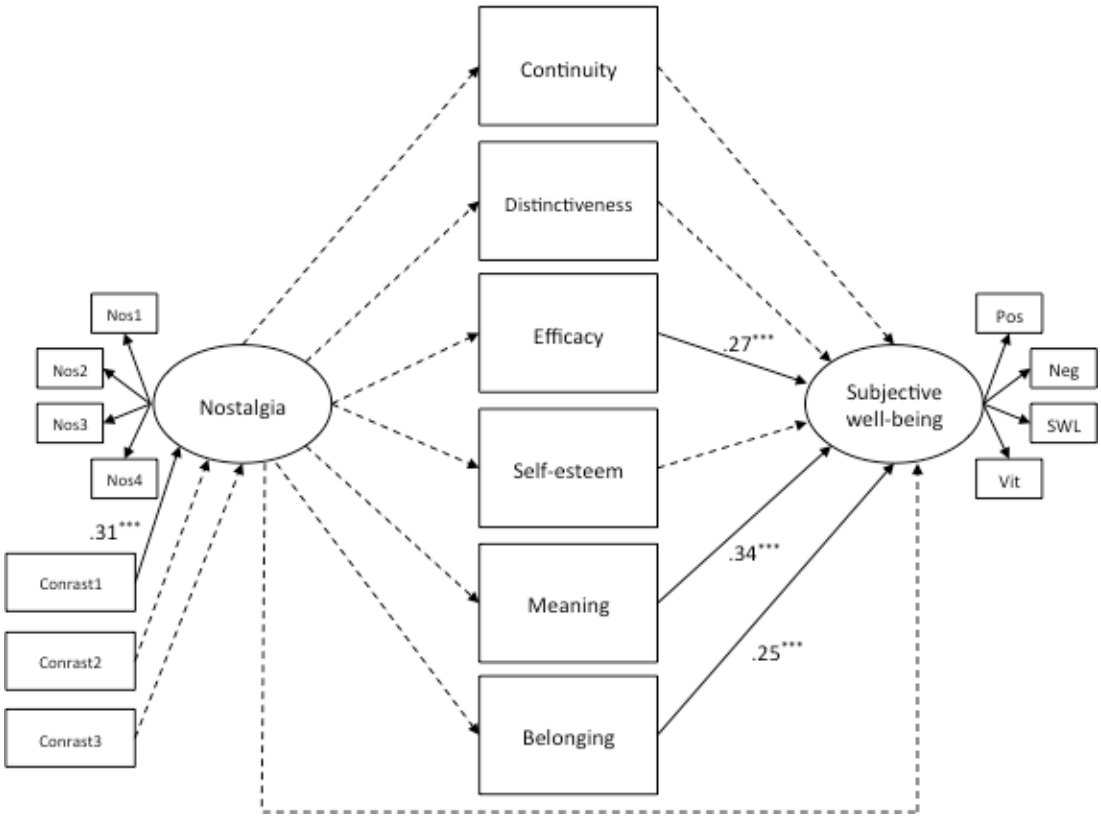

Figure 4. 2: Structural equation model with standardized estimates for personal identity motives as mediators. Solid lines show significant paths and dashed lines show non-significant paths (*p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001)

As can be seen in Figure 4.2, nostalgia did not predict any personal identity motives or subjective well-being (all *p*s > .05). However, personal identity motives of efficacy (β = .27, $p = .003$), meaning (β = .34, $p < .001$), and belonging (β = .25, $p < .001$) significantly predicted subjective well-being; but there were no significant indirect effects.

In the second model, we tested whether nostalgia would predict social identity motives, which then would predict subjective well-being. The model fit was acceptable: $\chi^2(73) = 121.37$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.95; RMSEA = 0.05 (90% CI, 0.03, 0.06); SRMR = 0.04.

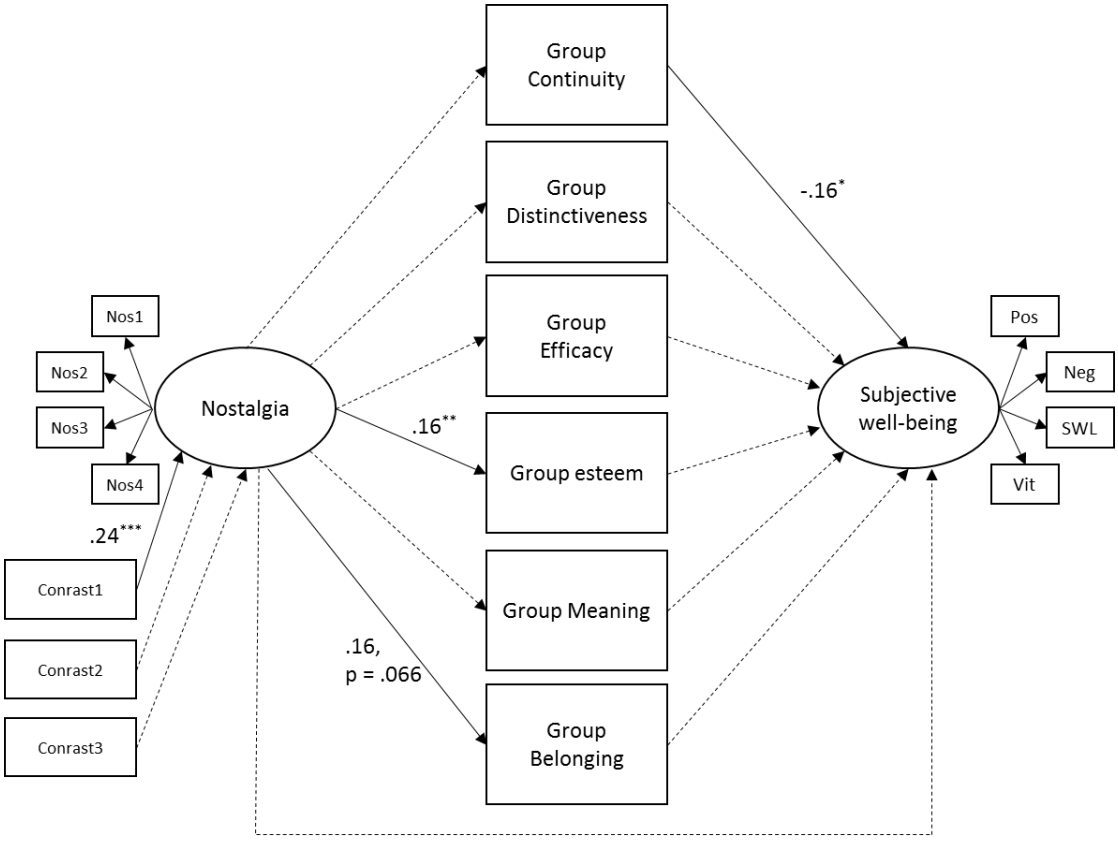

Figure 4. 3: Structural equation model with standardized estimates for social identity motives as mediators. Solid lines show significant paths and dashed lines show non-significant paths (*p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001)

As can be seen in Figure 4.3, nostalgia significantly predicted social identity motive of esteem (β = .16, *p* = .005), and belonging at the marginal level (βs = .16, *p* = .066); yet it did not predict any other social identity motives or subjective well-being (all *p*s > .05). On the other hand, only social identity motive of continuity

significantly and negatively predicted subjective well-being (β = -.16, *p* = .009); but there were no significant indirect effects.

In the third model, we tested whether nostalgia would predict aspects of ingroup identification, entitativity, and cognitive alternatives which then would predict subjective well-being. Although all indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors (|βs| ≥ .39, *p* < .001), the model fit was acceptable: $\chi^2(391) = 572.07$, *p* < .001; CFI = 0.93; RMSEA = 0.04 (90% CI, 0.03, 0.05); SRMR = 0.06.

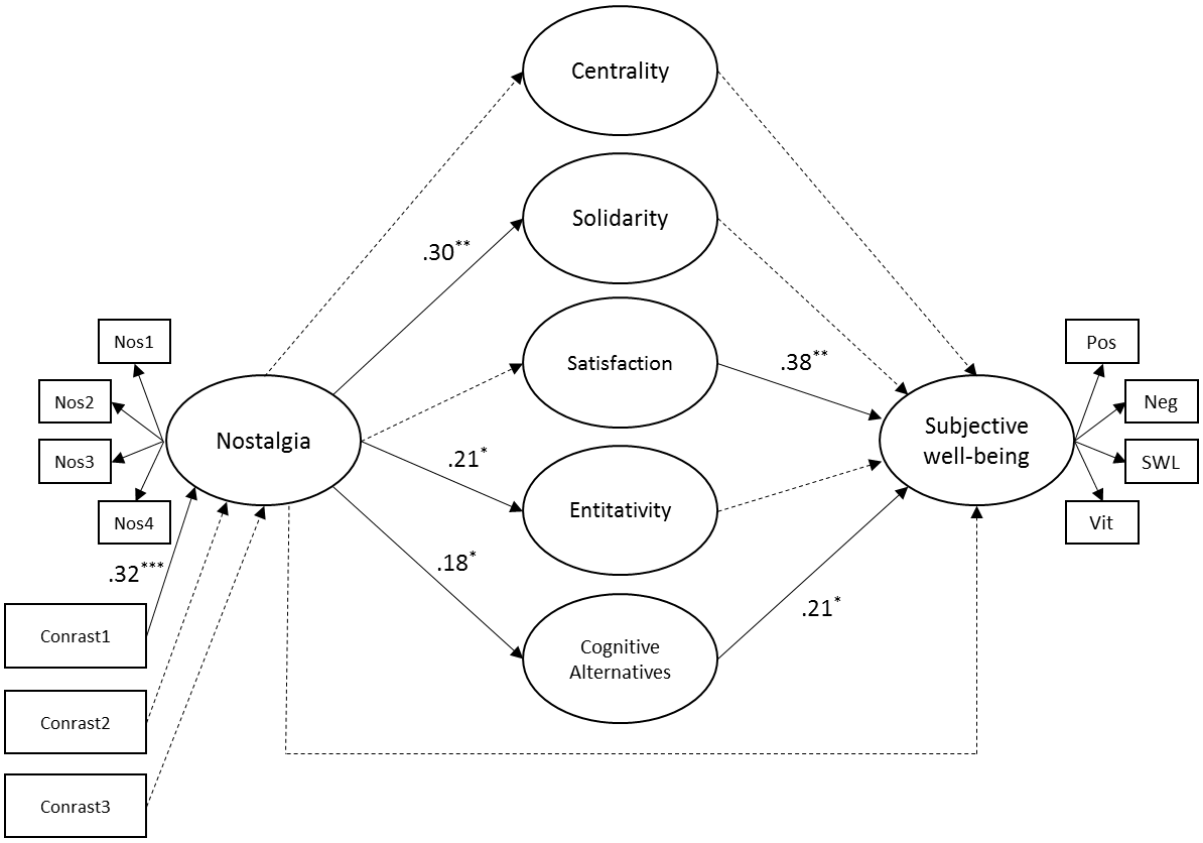

Figure 4. 4: Structural equation model with standardized estimates for identification, entitativity, and cognitive alternatives as mediators. Solid lines show significant paths and dashed lines show non-significant paths (*p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001)

As can be seen in Figure 4.4, nostalgia significantly predicted only solidarity aspect of identification (β = .30, $p < .001$); and it also significantly predicted higher entitativity (β = .21, $p = .023$) and higher cognitive alternatives (β = .18, $p = .020$). In turn, both satisfaction (β = .38, $p = .009$) and cognitive alternatives (β = .21, $p = .017$) significantly predicted subjective well-being; yet none of the indirect effects was significant.

Discussion

In this study, we tested whether experimentally induced collective nostalgia among a highly stigmatised minority group would improve the well-being of the group members, and whether this relationship would be mediated by a set of theoretically driven variables. We also tested if collective nostalgia induction may have different effects on these variables if it relied on a distant unexperienced past or participants' experienced past or it was projected onto a future. We found that our manipulation was successful; participants in all three nostalgia conditions were more nostalgic after manipulation, but there were no other significant differences across these three groups. However, increased nostalgia did not significantly change people's subjective well-being, and there were no significant mediation effects. Measured nostalgia was not significantly related to any personal identity motives although it was related to social identity motive of esteem and belonging, to all subscales of ingroup identification, to cognitive alternatives, and group entitativity. On the other hand, subjective well-being was significantly related to personal identity motives of efficacy, meaning, and belonging, to social identity motive of continuity negatively, to satisfaction subscale of ingroup identification, and cognitive

alternatives. Even though there is a wealth of literature showing the positive effects of nostalgia on similar variables (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2017), we were unable to find these effects in our study.

This study is the first examination of collective nostalgia using a unique sample. Sedikides et al. (2009) make a number of propositions regarding how nostalgia can buffer against acculturative stress, and it may help immigrants' well-being and foster their integration. However, they also note that there might be a contrast effect whereby nostalgia may trigger the glories of the past when the present is full of despair. Our sample may have brought evidence for this contrast effect. For Kurds, collective memories of the past containing positive moments may not only give comfort to Kurdish people but may also glorify their ethnic identity. However, the present is very different: there is conflict, people live in places where they arrived after forced migration, they experience stigma in their daily lives, and their identity is under extinction threat (Koc & Vignoles, 2018). Therefore, a positive past may not bring comfort. This could be explained by Iyer and Jetten's (2011) findings that self-continuity moderates the effects of nostalgia on well-being. If people do not feel that their past and present are connected, nostalgia may be maladaptive. This is a potential limitation of this study to treat continuity as a mediator, and future research should therefore investigate the moderating effects of continuity at both individual and group levels.

Another potential limitation of this study could be due to its control condition. We modelled our control condition on the national nostalgia study by Smeekes, Verkuyten, and Martinovic (2014), and asked participants to write about a historical event about Kurds. However, the content of the text written by the

participants showed that a historical event about Kurds was almost always extremely negative. The texts included mentions of village bombings, massacres, and unjust treatment by the government. There was not a single positive event reported. This control condition may have threatened participants' identity. From rejection-identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) and MICT perspectives (Vignoles, 2011), participants may have reacted to this threat by increasing ingroup identification and striving for higher identity motive satisfaction, which may then have buffered for well-being. Since we expected nostalgia to have the same effects as a coping strategy presented to the participants directly, this could have prevented us from differentiating the experimental conditions from the control. Future studies should include an empty or neutral control to have a baseline comparison.

Another potential limitation of this study could be the nature of the manipulation. Previously, in a qualitative study, participants reported that nostalgia was beneficial for their well-being (Koc & Vignoles, 2018). Their definition of nostalgia, however, included the presence of other Kurdish people: talking about memories with other ingroup members, playing Kurdish games, making Kurdish jokes, going to Kurdish weddings, and spending time with other Kurds. However, in this study, we asked participants individually to recollect some collective nostalgic memories. In a previous study with older adults living in residential care, C. Haslam et al. (2010) found that collective recollection of past memories only increased participants' cognitive skills, whereas another condition, where they engaged in a shared social activity, enhanced their well-being. Perhaps collective nostalgia may require the presence of and the active involvement of other ingroup members so that

the collective nostalgic memories may have a positive impact on identity and well-being. Future research is warranted to test this claim that group-based sharing of the collective past may have different effects than isolated personal reflection of the same past. Moreover, we used an established collective nostalgia induction. However, Koc and Vignoles (2018) found that many other aspects of nostalgia related to Kurdish identity such as songs, historical figures, places, pieces of literature, and memories. Future research may adopt a more emic approach and try to utilise these indigenous aspects of Kurdish nostalgia.

Overall, this study was the first comprehensive attempt to test the effects of collective nostalgia on personal and social identity motives, ingroup identification, group entitativity, and cognitive alternatives, and indirectly on subjective well-being, for a highly stigmatised minority group sample. Our manipulations successfully increased nostalgia, and we brought novel evidence that identity motives may operate differently at the individual and group levels in relation to nostalgia. Future studies should continue to include them at both levels extending the work of Thomas et al. (2017). We also found evidence that people feel similarly nostalgic regardless of the type of nostalgic induction. Future studies may combine these conditions into one and test its effect in relation to neutral control conditions. All in all, nostalgia can be a psychological resource under certain conditions, yet it may become something that one suffers from if these conditions are not met, which would then be maladaptive and more detrimental for well-being.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

"We know what we are, but not what we may be."

— William Shakespeare, Hamlet

In this thesis, I aimed to study identity threat and coping mechanisms among highly stigmatised sexual (gay) and ethnic (Kurdish) minorities in the cultural context of Turkey. Both Kurds and gay men are under-researched groups with similar experiences of being a minority in a traditional society where there is a high prevalence of religious, conservative, heteronormative, and nationalist norms and values. At the beginning, I posed two questions: what *threatens* the identities of members of these minority groups, and how do they *cope* with this threat. Across four studies, I brought some answers to these questions.

In Papers 1 and 2, I tested whether identifying as a global citizen would help integrate conflicting gay and male identities. I found that higher global identification was linked to higher gay-male identity integration, and indirectly well-being. These were the first studies to test global identification as a coping mechanism, and both studies highlighted the importance of having an intersectional approach to the study of identity processes (van Dommelen, Schmidt, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2015), and the importance of identification for well-being in the face of stigma (C. Haslam, Jetten, Cruwys, Dingle, & Haslam, 2018).

In Paper 3, I explored the elements of identity threat, and related coping mechanisms, among Kurdish ethnic minority members in Turkey. This was the first study to explore this question with this group, and the qualitative approach helped develop an in-depth understanding into the experiences of Kurdish people while

proposing a pool of ideas for coping strategies that could be tested quantitatively in larger samples. Accordingly, in Paper 4, I tested one of these coping mechanisms looking at whether different forms of collective ethnic nostalgia would improve well-being for Kurdish people. This was the first study to test the effect of nostalgia for a highly stigmatised group in an acculturating context. Although previously nostalgia was hypothesised (but not yet tested) to be beneficial for such groups (see Sedikides et al., 2009), I found that nostalgia was not beneficial for well-being for this group.

In the following sections, I will first discuss the strengths and novelties of this project in terms of theoretical and empirical contributions. I will then talk about potential limitations of these studies, and the avenues through which this research could be developed in the future. Then I will reflect on the theoretical framework used in the study, and discuss the benefits and potential drawbacks. Finally, I will discuss how the research findings could be translated into societal benefit, and could be used to foster the well-being of these group members.

Strengths and Novelties

First of all, this thesis gave voice to the experiences of understudied minority groups. Although Paper 1 and 2 were online survey-based quantitative studies, they were built on the findings of my own previous qualitative work (Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016; Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012). I had personally interviewed 14 participants in these studies, and the design of the two papers in this thesis was directly based on the experiences of these participants. Similarly, in Paper 3, I reported very personal stories of eight Kurdish participants including their life challenges, their sufferings, their emotions, and their own ways of coping with these challenges and negative

emotions. In Paper 4, I tested one of the coping mechanisms in an experimental design. The diversity of the methods helped me gain better insight into these experiences as well as corroborating the findings from different studies.

Neither gay people nor Kurds are legally protected in Turkey, and both groups are silenced by the authorities, preventing them from getting organised and demanding their rights. For example, the pride parade, which had been taking place for 25 years, was attacked and cancelled in Istanbul in the past few years. Similarly, Kurdish language and community centres, which were once opened by the government itself, were recently closed down. With this thesis, I believe I have opened a new channel where the stories of these groups, including their struggles and ways of coping, could be shared and communicated. While they are being silenced by the authorities, their voice can be heard in the academic realm, which can then be used to help them. Especially in the case of Kurdish identity, one of the biggest challenges is the extinction threat (e.g., Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010). This thesis symbolically provides a chance for Kurdish people to record their experiences in history and might also provide continuity for their identities.

There have also been theoretical contributions. In Papers 1 and 2, the Bicultural Identity Integration framework was adapted into sexual and gender identities. Although Huynh, Nguyen, and Benet-Martínez (2011) previously suggested that this framework should be used with identities other than only cultural identities, Paper 1 and 2 are the first attempts to adapt this framework into other dual identities. The consistent findings across two studies showed that this framework could be used with samples of gay men while investigating their gay and male identity integration. Additionally, the original scale was adapted to measure the

integration of gay and male identities. The scale replicated the original factor structure with good reliabilities, and worked well to predict well-being in both studies. Future research can use this scale.

In Paper 3, beyond using IPT in a new sample, our analysis has generated some novel insights. Over and above the obvious threat of physical extinction through violence, and the threat of labelling with extremely negative and dehumanised stereotypes, a key insight from our analysis showed the interplay between being silenced and regaining one's voice. This points to a social dimension of (dis)empowerment in relationships with others, rather than a cognitive dimension of positive and negative evaluation, as the most prejudice and discrimination research tends to focus on. Future research should explore ways to enable people to regain their voices in the face of being silenced.

As well as testing the effect of nostalgia among a stigmatised minority group for the first time, Paper 4 provided at least three more theoretical contributions. Previously, Wildschut et al. (2014) suggested that the positive effects of nostalgia should be investigated both at the individual and at the group level. In Paper 4, identity motives were measured both at the individual and at the group level, and there were different patterns of findings. This also extends the recent work by Thomas et al. (2017), who found that satisfaction of different motives predicts team identification at different levels. Further research should continue to incorporate identity motives at both levels. Moreover, this was the first study to test whether specific types of nostalgia would affect identity motives and well-being differently. Previously, nostalgia induction was done by asking participants to remember a past memory; yet especially for collective nostalgia, there are collective histories and

memories that may not have been personally experienced by the participant but may still matter for their identities. Remembering for groups is a collective activity, and it reconstructs the content and context of the past memory to be remembered in the future (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). Therefore, a personal memory of the past and a collective memory may well be different. Similarly, no studies so far focused on the aspect of nostalgia which can potentiate a future. Nostalgia, by definition, is a longing, and this longing implies a future orientation. We tested this by varying nostalgic past in three ways: a past memory that happened before one was born, one's own memory, and a past memory that could be projected into future. However, these conditions were not significantly different from one another. Therefore, future studies can use a single condition or can combine these conditions into one. Finally, in Paper 4, we developed a new measure of ingroup identification, which showed good factorial structure and reliability. Future research can use this scale.

Potential Limitations of the Studies and Suggestions for Follow-up Research

Together with strength and novelties, all four studies come with a number of limitations, which should be addressed in future research. For example, in Paper 1, the design was correlational, restricting us from making causal inferences. In Paper 2, we managed to substantiate these findings with an experimental design. However, across these two studies, there are at least three other limitations to address. First, the content of global identification is not very clear. In Paper 1, global identification was measured with a single item. In Paper 2, we used six items to measure global identification, and we used a manipulation where we manipulated global worldviews. The content of the worldviews included several aspects of globalisation: globalisation enabling (or disrupting) intercultural communication, positives (or

negatives) of global technology, cultural richness (vs. assimilation), or ease of travel (vs. global warming as an outcome of this). Future studies should unpack which of these aspects of globalisation are related to gay-male identity integration and access to gay-affirmative social spaces. Moreover, in Paper 2, although the level of identification changed after manipulation, the manipulation itself did not directly target people's sense of global identification. Future research might use other manipulations where participants are asked to list what makes them global citizens vs. what prevents them from becoming one (see similar type of manipulation in Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999). In this way, participants can contemplate and write about how they feel as global citizens or how they react if they are unable to attain that identity, which may indeed threaten their identities. Finally, across two studies, we were unable to unpack the mechanism between global identification and gay-male identity integration. In Paper 1, we tested whether it was alternative masculinity perceptions that linked global identification to higher gay-male identity integration; however, that link was not supported. Future research may test whether it is cognitive alternatives that may explain this relationship. Although not exactly as proposed in social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel, 1978), global identification may provide people with cognitive alternatives that involve the prospect of a better and desired future for them, and this may help them change their appraisal of the compatibility between these two identities. More research is warranted to test these claims.

As well as the suggested extensions above, there are a few avenues along which this line of research can be developed. First of all, there is a need for a longitudinal study to test the effect of global identification on well-being among gay

men. This could be done in a similar design to experience-sampling studies (e.g., Hektner, Schmidt, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2007). Once it is established which aspect of global identification is beneficial for gay-male identity integration, this could be used in a subsequent manipulation. For example, a recent experimental study in Turkey found that a group of heterosexual students who watched LGBT themed movies, where gay characters are depicted positively, reduced their anti-gay prejudice over time as compared to a control group (Serpen, Demirbilek, Duyan, & Megahead, 2016). A similar design could be used over a week's time, where a group of participants could be asked to read something positive about gay identity from a global identity perspective, and their identification and identity integration could be measured over time. Such a design is especially possible with the sampling methodology I have used in my studies, for which I recruited gay men via gay dating applications (Koc, 2016). Normally longitudinal studies may be difficult with gay men who have identifiability concerns, but this recruitment method might circumvent this problem. In this way, we could see if such perceptions about gay identity could be trained and made a part of their identity over time.

Another important finding related to Paper 1 and 2 was about the negative impact of religion on gay-male identity integration. The higher participants identified as Muslims, the lower their integration and well-being were. However, not all interpretations of Islam are anti-gay, and there are certain rules in Islam that could be used to reframe Islam's position on homosexuality. For example, one of them is "None of you have faith until you love for your neighbour what you love for yourself." Similar studies were done with Christian participants in the prejudice domain, known as Golden Rule priming, where participants were told that everyone

should be treated with compassion as the will of God (Vilaythong, Lindner, & Nosek, 2010). Beyond intergroup relations, such priming may help the individuals for their own identity, because otherwise most religious gay participants tend to choose their sexual identity over religious identity, which in turn threatens their identity (Jaspal, 2014).

The papers related to Kurdish identity have at least two limitations. In Paper 3, I recruited eight Kurdish people for interviews, and they were all living in Istanbul. Although some of them have had migration experiences and lived in cities predominantly populated by Kurds, their lives have been adapted to big city life. Their reflections on their own experiences may have changed over time, and this may have affected how they construed their narratives and communicated to me in the interviews (see my earlier point about collective remembering). Also, life in predominantly Kurdish cities is very different than Istanbul. I would therefore expect that there would be additional themes that would threaten identity, and potentially additional coping mechanisms in relation to these threats. Although I collected some data in Mardin, we were limited in two respects. First, sample from Mardin was entirely men. Most women do not speak Turkish, so it was not possible to interview them. Second, the same might be valid for men, such that the sample we were able to reach may not reflect the whole entire range of experiences of people living in Mardin. Future research should try to overcome these limitations.

The second limitation is the changing cultural context. When I conducted these interviews, there was a peace process in Turkey accompanied by a ceasefire between the Turkish army and Kurdish movement. Kurds were given, and promised that they would be given, more democratic and civil rights. Kurdish language was

supported and promoted by the government, through setting up public Kurdish language course centres and opening a state TV channel in Kurdish. In this environment, people were hopeful and optimistic about the future. In MICT terms, this process may have helped Kurdish people to satisfy their identity motives: being Kurdish was no longer a negatively distinct identity (distinctiveness); they started being proud of being Kurdish (self-esteem); they felt they were accepted by the State and the society (belonging); they no longer feared for the future existence of their identity (continuity); they had a purpose in life to build a better future (meaning), and they felt competent to do so (efficacy). Therefore, how the research participants perceived Kurdish identity might have been influenced by this change. However, by the time of the nostalgia study, none of the above was valid for Kurdish identity any longer. Therefore, the interviews could have been very different if this study was conducted now. However, the participants still talked about a Kurdish identity as a whole, which included all the historical aspects, collective memories, as well as sufferings.

Finally, a recent research suggests that shared experiences of discrimination bring different stigmatised minority groups closer and improve their intergroup relations (Cortland et al., 2017). In this thesis, we treated gay men and Kurdish people as two distinct groups. In future research, we could try to use insights from each line of research, and study identity processes for both groups together. Moreover, we could have a full intersectional approach to study gay-Kurdish identity to see whether coping with threat for one stigmatised identity has also benefits for the other one.

Other Considerations

One of the things this thesis could have benefitted in terms of its conceptualisation and insights into the social aspects of the issues studied is that I could have incorporated more literature from areas outside social psychology. In terms of Paper 1 and Paper 2, there is an abundance of literature in gender, cultural studies, feminist, and queer studies. In terms of Paper 3 and Paper 4, there is lots of research looking at the Kurdish question in Turkey and in the neighbouring countries in sociology, history, and anthropology. Although being aware of this alternative scientific literature would not necessarily alter my interests and my research questions, they may have provided me with different perspectives to conceptualise my studies.

One example for this could be a journalism work. In his book titled *Unspeakable Love*, journalist Brian Whitaker writes about his observations and interviews with dozens of people about the situation of LGBT people in Middle Eastern countries. In his complex account which brings together historical, religious, social, and legal statues of homosexuality, Whitaker narrates important information and lived experiences about homosexual identities in these countries. For instance, he points out that homosexuality historically used to be tolerated in these countries (e.g., during Ottoman times) much more than in the Christian West; and the persecution of this minority group is rooted in the colonial history and Christianity. For instance, today, in 37 of the 53 Commonwealth countries, the Victorian penal code of 1892 is still valid, which has the ‘sodomy law’ criminalising homosexuality between men. However, when the West ‘moved forward’ with human rights and decriminalised homosexuality, most Middle Eastern and African countries had a

contrary reaction. For instance, homosexuality and any related constructs such as homosexual, gay, lesbian, and queer are perceived to be Western, and they are thought to be dangerous for the society and something to be refrained from. Anything about homosexuality is therefore banned trying to protect the assimilation of the local culture from the negative "global influence." This may even take extreme cases in places like Palestine, where gay men are thought to be traitors and spies for Western countries and tortured for this. Similarly, in Egypt, gay men using online dating applications are caught by the police and imprisoned.

In this respect, the coping strategy I have used in Study 1 and Study 2 can have conflicting implications for gay men in a country where such perceptions are prevalent. If the global identity is perceived to be equated with negative Western values and norms, this might in fact stigmatise these groups members even further. On the other hand, global identification might still be a coping strategy for people at the intrapersonal level. For example. Whitaker says some gay men find only suicide as their solution to their 'problem' of being gay; while others find alternative solutions like finding performing marriages with lesbian friends to establish a traditional life style in the eyes of the others to prevent themselves from the societal stigma, and continue their underground lives with a positive influence of their connection to the rest of the world. Overall, these non-scientific observations and anecdotal information can help furnish the understanding in the scientific realm.

Similarly, there are a number of journalism and history books that could have informed the second part of my PhD. These books provide a variety of information about Kurdish identity and culture, and most importantly, how the conflict between the Turkish army and the Kurdish armed struggle started. For instance, since the end

of the Ottoman Empire, there is actually not any period in the history of Turkish Republic when there was no conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state. However, this conflict remained in the forms of small rebellions and oppression. Even in the Protests of 1968 which did take place in Turkey, the issue was not uniquely about Kurdish, but it was more about the rise of the left-wing followed by military oppression and decades of right-wing politics. On the other hand, one could say the real conflict in Turkey started in early 1990s when PKK was fully organised and set out for a revolution. The biggest military oppression then started which coincided with the time that my participants in Study 3 remembered and reported. Therefore, those periods mentioned in the name of pre-conflict period was not necessarily without any conflict. Kurds were historically oppressed in Turkey since 1923. Either their identity was denied to them (and they accepted it), or in SIT terms, they were able to achieve passing or they exited the Kurdish identity by disidentification and assimilation. The only difference after 1990s is that there was a chance for social competition with the armed struggle and the political fight that accompanied it. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that, although whatever threatens the identity may not have changed, the available coping strategies have been updated and changed over the years based on the sociohistorical events.

In short, I am hoping to benefit from research outside social psychology in my subsequent work, and I believe I can structure my research questions more suitably for the social and historical context as well as in turn potentially contribute to the scientific knowledge in those areas.

Reflections on the Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, I have used IPT as my theoretical framework. I believe IPT has provided a number of benefits for studying my research questions. Here, I reflect on the advantages of using this theory, and how I may have contributed to its development. Moreover, I reflect on potential ways using IPT may have had disadvantages in my research process and on the outcome of this work.

As introduced in the first chapter of this work, Breakwell claims to build on and extend social identity theory in her conceptualisation of IPT (Breakwell, 1986). The social identities in the SIT tradition are thought to be identity elements in IPT, and there is no distinction between personal and social identities. Also, SIT tradition specifies social identity maintenance strategies; however, IPT, in contrast, recognises the multiplicity of possible coping responses based on the context, and offers an overarching and flexible theoretical framework within which these might be explored, identified, and interpreted. On the one hand, this is broadly useful, because any activity that is done to alleviate the threat might count as coping mechanism. For example, identifying with a third identity to increase the compatibility of the other two identities is a coping strategy that can be identified in a study using IPT (as in the case of Paper 1 and Paper 2). Moreover, it allowed me to incorporate bicultural identity integration framework (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) in measuring the compatibility of these two identities, and helped me contribute to that theory as well. On the other hand, this may also make the theory too broad and all-encompassing, and this might leave the researcher with a number of assumptions. For instance, in Paper 1 and Paper 2, I make the claim that gay and male identities are incompatible and they create conflict for the individual's identity; however, I

never measured to what extent the conflict was there, and assumed that it was inherent. I only measured the integration, which I assumed and conceptualised to be the resolution of the conflict, and tested the effect of the coping strategy on the resolution. In my next studies, I should test to what extent these two identities are in conflict and how much this threatens the individual's identity before testing the effectiveness of the coping strategy.

Similarly, IPT might have affected how I analysed my qualitative data in Paper 3. Although my analysis was not designed to test the theory, nor was it driven by the theory, how I approached the data was informed by the theory. I was looking for the elements of threat, and coping strategies. At no point did my participants state explicitly that something had 'threatened their identities' (although they did explicitly state that they had certain ways to cope with the things). When I was analysing my data, I was trying to identify situations which may have threatened their identities. However, I know from the theory that identity is threatened when motivational principles guiding identity processes are undermined. Accordingly, this may have sensitised me to certain experiences or narratives where I thought certain motives were being undermined. In this way, I might have identified keywords and themes, and formed the structure of the analysis with my a priori understanding of what constitutes a threat to the identity rather than what the participants might have experienced as threat. Therefore, it is hard to claim that the analysis was not affected by my or my supervisor's familiarity with the theoretical framework. On the other hand, this does not mean that what I identified does not count as threat. The experiences reported in the threat section of Paper 3 would be identified as a threatening experience with respect to many theoretical frameworks, because they

create a negative social identity and prevent people from deriving identity satisfaction based on this group membership. It is possible that another researcher (potentially with a different theoretical commitment) might have come up with a different analytical outcome on the same dataset. Nevertheless, I will continue to investigate and test the effectiveness of these coping mechanisms in my subsequent work benefitting from the insights gained in my qualitative work.

Potential Applications

As mentioned earlier, since the rights of neither of these groups are protected by law in Turkey, it is hard to use these research findings for policy making to improve the lives of gay men and Kurdish people. However, there are other areas where this information could be used.

Earlier, I have proposed as a future research direction that gay dating applications could be useful to have easier access to gay samples (Koc, 2016). I have found from personal experience that the producers of these applications are also keen to support research aiming to tackle mental health issues and improve well-being for this group; therefore, this could be an invaluable resource both to continue this research and to apply the research findings. For example, we found that access to gay-affirmative social spaces was positively associated with well-being (Paper 2). We could design and suggest features for these dating applications that may make gay men feel that it is a safe space and they are accepted as who they are. Although there is no published research yet, I know anecdotally and have started investigating empirically that there is much discrimination among the users of gay dating applications based on race, masculinity/femininity, weight, age, and so on. The managers of these applications are keen to tackle this issue, and our research findings

can help them. For example, if global identification is about being exposed to global gay images, these apps can daily promote positive stories about gay life around the world (such as a gay celebrity coming out). Similarly, if watching LGBT themed movies improves attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women, this could have a positive effect for the identity of gay men too (Serpen et al., 2016). Overall, a consistent exposure to positive gay images may help gay men increase their identification as gay men and with the gay community, and potentially decrease their internalised sexual prejudice, which would then be expected to increase identity integration and well-being.

A similar application can be done with Kurdish people. Although recently many Kurdish community centres have been closed down, due to the ongoing state of emergency at the time in Turkey, these centres normally provide a good platform to bring together Kurdish people. Activities to give Kurdish people voices or support their political engagement could help them increase their identification with other Kurds and may in turn foster improved well-being.

Broader Future Directions

I believe one possible future direction for my research with gay men and Kurdish ethnic minority in Turkey might benefit from the *social cure perspective* (see Jetten, Haslam, & Haslam, 2012; Haslam et al., 2018). According to the social cure perspective, groups have curative features making people healthier and more resilient. There are two distinct features of this approach. The first one emphasises the importance of social groups for health. The more groups one identifies with, the more resources one would be able to rely on in times of need. The second one emphasises the importance of the level of identification with these groups. In other

words, to what extent one internalises their membership with these groups determines one's physical and mental health as much as the number of groups they belong to. Jetten et al. (2017) suggest that it is becoming particularly important to use the principles of the social identity approach to understand group-based identification especially in cases of resilience and psychological functioning. In this case, I believe there is an opportunity for me to conceptualise the coping strategies of gay men and Kurdish ethnic minority in terms of resilience and empowerment both at the individual and group level.

I have conceptualised my studies in relation to societal stigma around gay and Kurdish identities. Stigma typically involves discrimination and social exclusion based on group membership (Major & O'Brien, 2005), and it is driven by the lack of recognition of an individual's or group's skills, abilities, and qualities (Haslam et al., 2018). I have shown this especially in Paper 3 with Kurdish participants. Their identity was denied to them, they were dehumanised with negative social representations, and they were eventually disempowered. However, this stigma did not affect everyone in my study in the same way (and hence their wellbeing). Some people lowered their identification as Kurdish people to the extent that they even disidentified, whereas others increased their identification even further to cope with this stigma. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that social identity is critical to understand how stigma affects people, and this is related to group identification. Depending on how people identify with groups, this will determine "who they turn to for support, how much support they receive, how useful they find it, and how they subsequently behave… such processes have an absolutely critical role to play in the trajectories of a very broad sweep of physical and mental health conditions (Haslam

et al., 2018, p.14).” Overall, it is possible to say that social identities can be both cure and curse, and so I would like to focus on how social identities can be used as cures in the case of gay male and Kurdish ethic identities.

For instance, in Papers 1 and 2, we showed the positive impact of global identification on identity processes and well-being. Further research can extend this by exploring how identification with multiple groups can be beneficial for identity, health, and well-being. This could be particularly useful in areas of sexual health among men who have sex with men. For example, gay men already experience a certain amount of stigma, and they would be less likely to disclose their HIV-positive identity because they may try to avoid more stigma (Courtenay–Quirk, Wolitski, Parsons, & Gómez, 2006). However, if they were to come out as HIV-positive, they could benefit from the social cure aspect of this identity such that identification with the HIV-positive community may help them receive support. I believe this line of research may have direct impact on sexual and mental health of gay men, and it will potentially help develop health interventions.

A social cure perspective may also be useful to follow up the work in Paper 3 and 4. Kurdish people may benefit from identification with their own group. Social cure research suggests that identity can be utilised to improve health and well-being, and identification with multiple groups can function as a social and psychological resource. For example, when older people in care engaged in activities as groups, this improved their cognitive skills and well-being (C. Haslam et al., 2010). Future research could combine this information with the positive benefits of nostalgia, and try to utilise people’s Kurdish identification. If they engaged in a nostalgic task as a group, this could prompt the curative aspect of Kurdish identification, and may then

be beneficial for well-being. Also, in Paper 4, we only focused on text-based nostalgic induction. However, nostalgia can also be induced with music or scent. Future research can test these ideas.

Overall, the social cure perspective can be beneficial to extend my research in combination with IPT. Social cure proposes that group memberships can help people become stronger and healthier because they satisfy the certain identity motives such as self-esteem, belonging, meaning, and efficacy (e.g., Cruwys, Haslam, Dingle, Haslam, and Jetten, 2014; Greenaway, Haslam, et al., 2015; Jetten et al., 2015). These identity motives are compatible with IPT and MICT (Breakwell, 1986; Vignoles, 2011). I believe a combination of these two approaches can help me utilize the importance of groups and identification on coping and wellbeing, and target the underlying motivational processes to achieve this.

Final Remarks

Through a series of four studies, this thesis showed that stigmatised minority identities are threatened in certain ways, and that some strategies developed in relation to the threat can be useful in coping with the threat, whereas others may not. People are being silenced in many ways, but there might be ways they can express themselves and regain their voices. Because most people know who they are, but they may not know who they may be in the future. I hope to continue to do research in this area in order to understand how it is possible to help people regain their voices so that they could feel empowered. In such way, they would be better prepared to protect themselves against threatening situations to their identities.

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APPENDIX 1

Study 1. Global Identification and Gay-Male Identity Integration

Demographics

Your age (in completed years): _____

Your gender:
- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female

Your sexual orientation:
- ❍ Homosexual
- ❍ Bisexual
- ❍ Heterosexual
- ❍ Other _____

Your relationship status:
- ❍ single
- ❍ in an open relationship
- ❍ in a committed relationship
- ❍ other _____

Country of birth: _____

How long have you lived in Turkey? _____years

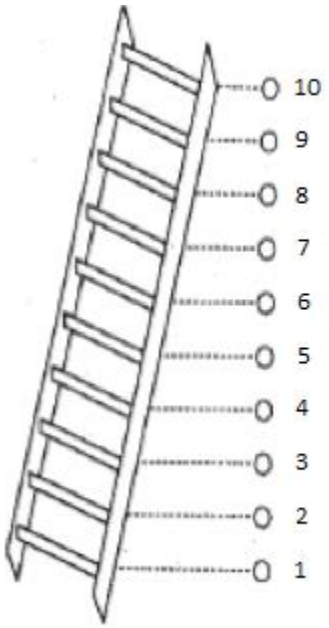
What is your nationality? _____

What is your ethnic group? _____

Are you currently a student?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

What is your occupation? _____

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in Turkey. At the top of the ladder are people who are the best off, those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are those who have the least money, least education, and worst jobs or no job.



Please type in the number of the rung that best represents where you think you stand on the ladder.

What is your monthly income?

Do you belong to a religion?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

What is your religion? _____

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I often think about the fact that I am a member of my religious affiliation.

1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

Self-Rating Attributes

Here is a list of attributes that can be used to describe people. Please read each attribute and rate select a point showing how well each one describes YOU. For example, if the attribute doesn't describe you at all, then select 1. If the attribute describes you very well, then select 4. If you are undecided between two possible answers, you can select the number in between (1½, 2½, 3½, 4½).

1 doesn't describe me at all
1½
2 describes me a little
2½
3 describes me moderately
3½
4 describes me very well
4½
5 describes me exactly

1. dominant
2. protective
3. manly
4. promiscuous
5. traditional
6. supportive
7. empathetic
8. responsible
9. egalitarian
10. independent
11. open-minded
12. creative
13. fashionable
14. expressive
15. sensitive
16. timid
17. flamboyant
18. effeminate
19. immoral
20. capricious

Self-Concept Clarity

Below are some statements regarding how you see yourself. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

1. My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another.
2. On one day I might have one opinion of myself and on another day I might have a different opinion.
3. I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of person I really am.
4. Sometimes I feel that I am not really the person I appear to be.
5. When I think about the person I have been in the past, I am not sure what I was really like.
6. I seldom experience conflict between the different aspects of my personality.
7. Sometimes I think I know other people better than I know myself.
8. My beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently.
9. If I were asked to describe my personality, my description might end ıp being different from one day to another day.
10. Even if I wanted to, I don't think I would tell someone what I'm really like.
11. In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am.
12. It is often hard for me to make up my mind about things because I don't really know what I want.

Outness Scale

Use the following rating scale to indicate how open you are about your sexual orientation to the people listed below. Try to respond to all of the items, but leave items blank if they do not apply to you.
1 = person definitely does NOT know about your sexual orientation status
2 = person might know about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
3 = person probably knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
4 = person probably knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
5 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
6 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is SOMETIMES talked about
7 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is OPENLY talked about
0 = not applicable to your situation; there is no such person or group of people in your life

- mother
- father
- siblings (sisters, brothers)
- extended family/relatives
- my new straight friends
- my work peers
- my work supervisor(s)
- members of my religious community (e.g., church, temple)
- leaders of my religious community (e.g., church, temple)
- strangers, new acquaintances
- my old heterosexual friends
- my gay friends

Internalised Homophobia Scale

Below are five statements. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

1 – Strongly disagree to 5 – Strongly agree

1. I have tried to stop being attracted to men in general.
2. If someone offered me the chance to be completely heterosexual, I would accept the chance.
3. I wish I weren't gay/bisexual.
4. I feel that being gay/bisexual is a personal shortcoming for me.
5. I would like to get professional help in order to change my sexual orientation from gay/bisexual to straight.
6. I have tried to become more sexually attracted to women.
7. I often feel it best to avoid personal or social involvement with other gay/bisexual men.
8. I feel alienated from myself because of being gay/bisexual.
9. I wish that I could develop more erotic feelings about women.

Condition 1. Pro-Globalisation Condition

Here are some questions regarding your perceptions on the effects of globalisation. Please read each statement below and indicate whether you agree or disagree with each one. Once you finish answering the following questions, your score will be calculated and you will be given information about your attitudes towards globalisation in the next page.

1 – Strongly disagree to 2 – Strongly agree

1. Globalisation sometimes promotes world peace.
2. Globalisation can promote cultural diversity.
3. Globalisation could lead to a sense of global community.
4. Globalisation could provide a sense of belongingness for everyone.
5. Globalisation sometimes fosters positive interaction between cultures.
6. Globalisation inevitably increases inequality in the world.
7. Globalisation always leads to conflicts among cultures.
8. Globalisation inevitably leads to the loss of cultural values.
9. Globalisation certainly causes cultural assimilation.
10. Globalisation always causes the extinction of one's own culture.

Condition 1. Feedback

Based on the answers you gave on the previous page, you are a **pro-globalisation person.**

Pro-globalisation people are aware of various positive influences of globalisation. Some of these benefits are such that globalisation leads to cooperation between cultures, provides a voice for people of different cultural groups, and it promotes the sense of global community.

Pro-globalisation people are thought to benefit from these positive aspects of globalisation, and endorse **more international cultural values.**

How much do you agree with your test results?
1 – Strongly disagree to 5 – Strongly agree

Below are two statements. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.
1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

I identify with Turks.
I identify with the citizens of the world.

Condition 2. Anti-globalisation Condition

Here are some questions regarding your perceptions on the effects of globalisation. Please read each statement below and indicate whether you agree or disagree with each one. Once you finish answering the following questions, your score will be calculated and you will be given information about your attitudes towards globalisation in the next page.

1 – Strongly disagree to 2 – Strongly agree

1. Globalisation always promotes world peace.
2. Globalisation always promotes cultural diversity.
3. Globalisation certainly leads to a sense of global community.
4. Globalisation unquestionably provides a sense of belongingness for everyone.
5. Globalisation always fosters positive interaction between cultures.
6. Globalisation sometimes increases inequality in the world.
7. Globalisation sometimes leads to conflicts among cultures.
8. Globalisation might lead to the loss of cultural values.
9. Globalisation could cause cultural assimilation.
10. Globalisation might cause the extinction of one's own culture.

Condition 2. Feedback

Based on the answers you gave on the previous page, you are an **anti-globalisation person**.

Anti-globalisation people are aware of various negative influences of globalisation. Some of these influences are such that globalisation leads to conflict between cultures; increases inequality in the world, and can lead to the extinction of local cultures.

Anti-globalisation people are thought to take a stand against these negative aspects of globalisation, and preserve **their own local cultural values.**

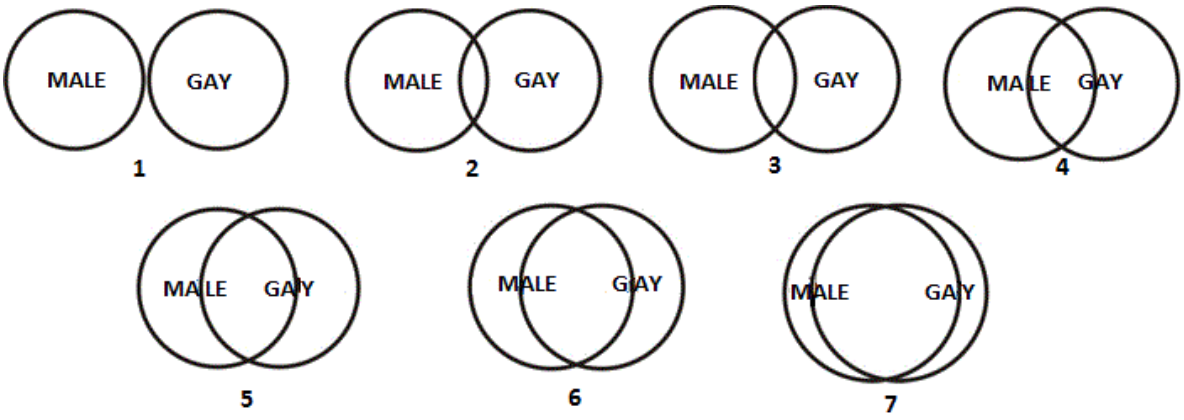
How much do you agree with your test results?
1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

Below are two statements. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.
1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

I identify with Turks.
I identify with the citizens of the world.

Gay-male compatibility circles

Below are some circles which show how man and gay identities might relate to one another. Please choose the picture that best describes how you think these two identities are related to one another.



- ❍ 1
- ❍ 2
- ❍ 3
- ❍ 4
- ❍ 5
- ❍ 6
- ❍ 7

Male-Rating Attributes

Here is a list of attributes that can be used to describe people. Please read each attribute and rate select a point showing how well each one describes MALES. For example, if the attribute doesn't describe males at all, then select 1. If the attribute describes males very well, then select 4. If you are undecided between two possible answers, you can select the number in between (1½, 2½, 3½, 4½).

1 doesn't describe males at all
1½
2 describes males a little
2½
3 describes males moderately
3½
4 describes males very well
4½
5 describes males exactly

1. dominant
2. protective
3. manly
4. promiscuous
5. traditional
6. supportive
7. empathetic
8. responsible
9. egalitarian
10. independent
11. open-minded
12. creative
13. fashionable
14. expressive
15. sensitive
16. timid
17. flamboyant
18. effeminate
19. immoral
20. capricious

Gay-Rating Attributes

Here is a list of attributes that can be used to describe people. Please read each attribute and rate select a point showing how well each one describes GAYS. For example, if the attribute doesn't describe gays at all, then select 1. If the attribute describes gays very well, then select 4. If you are undecided between two possible answers, you can select the number in between (1½, 2½, 3½, 4½).

1 doesn't describe gays at all
1½
2 describes gays a little
2½
3 describes gays moderately
3½
4 describes gays very well
4½
5 describes gays exactly

1. dominant
2. protective
3. manly
4. promiscuous
5. traditional
6. supportive
7. empathetic
8. responsible
9. egalitarian
10. independent
11. open-minded
12. creative
13. fashionable
14. expressive
15. sensitive
16. timid
17. flamboyant
18. effeminate
19. immoral
20. capricious

Gay-Male Identity Integration Scale

Below are some questions about gay and male identities. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

1. Both gay and male identities make me who I am.
2. It is impossible for me to ignore the gay or male side of me.
3. I feel gay and male at the same time.
4. I relate better to a gay-male identity rather than to gay or male identity alone.
5. I find it difficult to combine gay and male identities.
6. I do not blend my gay and male identities.
7. Being both gay and male is like being divided into two parts.
8. I am simply a man who is also gay.
9. I find it easy to reconcile my gay and male identities.
10. I feel there is no conflict between my gay and male identities.
11. My gay and male identities are compatible.
12. My gay and male identities are complementary.
13. I feel torn between gay and male identities.
14. It is effortful to be gay and male at the same time.
15. Being both gay and male means having two identities pulling me in different directions.
16. My gay and male identities are incompatible.

Gay Ambivalent Identification Scale

Below you will see a number of questions. Please answer each question by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

1 – Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree

1. I feel solidarity with gays.
2. I feel a distance between myself and gays.
3. I feel committed to gays.
4. I feel disloyal to gays.
5. I am glad to be gay.
6. I regret that I belong to this group.
7. I think that gays have a lot to be proud of.
8. I think gays have nothing to be proud of.
9. It is pleasant to be gay.
10. I am unhappy about being gay.
11. Being gay gives me a good feeling.
12. Being gay gives me a bad feeling.
13. I often think about the fact that I am gay.
14. Being gay rarely comes to my mind.
15. The fact that I am gay is an important part of my identity.
16. The fact that I am gay is not core to my identity.
17. Being gay is an important part of how I see myself.
18. Being gay is nothing to do with how I see myself.
19. I have a lot in common with gays.
20. I have nothing in common with gays.
21. I am similar to the average gay person.
22. I am dissimilar to an average gay person.
23. Gays have a lot in common.
24. Gays do not have much in common.
25. Gays are very similar to each other.
26. Gays are very diverse from each other.

Identity Motive Satisfaction Scale

Below are some questions regarding your thoughts and feelings about yourself.

Right now, how much do you feel...

Not at all
A little
Moderately
A lot
Entirely

1. … your past, present and future are connected
2. … connected to your past
3. … connected to your future
4. … connected to who you were in the past and who you will be in the future
5. … a sense of continuity between past, present and future in your life
6. … that your life has a 'story'
7. … that, in the course of your life, you have changed beyond recognition (neg)
8. … a sense of discontinuity between your past, present and future (neg)
9. … that your past, present and future are disconnected (neg)
10. … disconnected from your past (neg)
11. … that there is not much continuity in your life (neg)
12. … your life is meaningful
13. … certain about who you are
14. … you understand your life's meaning
15. … your life has a clear sense of purpose
16. … unsure about the meaning of your life (neg)
17. … your life is meaningless (neg)
18. … your life has no clear purpose (neg)
19. … uncertain about who you are (neg)
20. … satisfied with yourself
21. … great about who you are
22. … comfortable with yourself
23. … you have high self-esteem
24. … that you are valuable
25. … dissatisfied with yourself (neg)
26. … that it is unpleasant to think about yourself (neg)

27. … that you are worthless (neg)
28. … that you do not respect yourself (neg)
29. … distinguishable from others
30. … distinctive
31. … unique
32. … you have a distinctive role in life
33. … indistinguishable from others (neg)
34. … too similar to others (neg)
35. … anonymous (neg)
36. … interchangeable with others (neg)
37. … a sense of belonging
38. … close to others
39. … accepted
40. … valued by the people who matter to you
41. … included
42. … not valued by or important to your friends (neg)
43. … excluded (neg)
44. … left out (neg)
45. … rejected by others (neg)
46. … that you don't fit in (neg)
47. … competent
48. … confident to achieve your goals
49. … in control
50. … capable of coping with challenges
51. … incompetent (neg)
52. … unable to fulfil your goals (neg)
53. … incapable (neg)
54. … unable to deal with your challenges (neg)

Subjective Wellbeing (Positive and negative affect (AVI) + Satisfaction with life (single-item)

- *Affect Valuation Index*

Listed below are a number of words that describe feelings. Some of the feelings are very similar to each other, whereas others are very different from each other. Read each word and, using the following scale, rate how much you have each feeling RIGHT NOW:

(1) not at all to (5) entirely

1. enthusiastic
2. dull
3. excited
4. sleepy
5. strong
6. sluggish
7. euphoric
8. idle
9. aroused
10. rested
11. astonished
12. quiet
13. surprised
14. still
15. passive
16. inactive
17. fearful
18. calm
19. hostile
20. peaceful
21. nervous
22. relaxed
23. elated
24. lonely
25. content
26. sad
27. happy
28. unhappy

29. satisfied
30. serene
31. uncomfortable
32. uneasy
33. bothered

- *Satisfaction with life*

Below is a statement with which you may agree or disagree. Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by using the scale below.

(1) Strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree

- Right now, I am satisfied with my life.

Finally, before we finish, we would like to ask you a question about your sexual preferences. Which of the following BEST describes your sexual preferences:

❍ I am top only.
❍ I am top-versatile.
❍ I am versatile.
❍ I am bottom-versatile.
❍ I am bottom only.
❍ I am not into anal sex.
❍ I prefer not to disclose this information.

APPENDIX 2

Study 2. Experimental Global Identification and Gay-Male Identity Integration

1. Your age (in completed years): _____

2. Your gender:

- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female
- ❍ Other _____

3. Your sexual orientation:

- ❍ Homosexual
- ❍ Bisexual
- ❍ Heterosexual
- ❍ Other _____

4. Your relationship status:

- ❍ single
- ❍ in an open relationship
- ❍ in a committed relationship
- ❍ other _____

5. Country of birth: _____

6. How long have you lived in Turkey?

- ❍ All my life
- ❍ _____years

7. What is your nationality? _____

- ❍ Turkish
- ❍ Other:

8. What is your ethnic group? _____

- ❍ Turk
- ❍ Kurd
- ❍ Other____

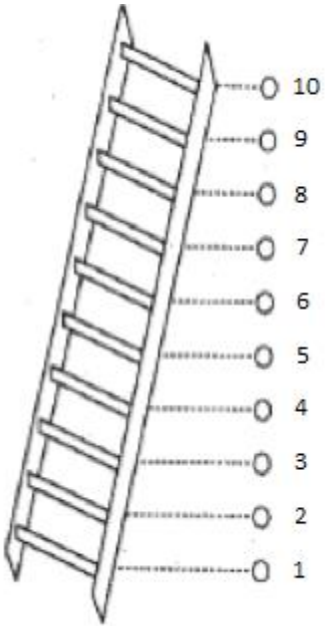
9. Are you currently a student?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

10. What is your degree in?

11. What is your occupation? _____

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in Turkey. At the top of the ladder are people who are the best off, those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are those who have the least money, least education, and worst jobs or no job.



12. Please type in the number of the rung that best represents where you think you stand on the ladder.

13. Do you belong to a religion?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

14. What is your religion? _____

15. What is your political orientation?

- ❍ Conservative to Progressive (from 1 to 100)

Pre-manipulation Identification Items

Below are some questions about social identities. Please answer each question by selecting one point on the scale.

1. How often do you consider yourself to be: **(1) never** *to* **(5) always**
2. How important is it for you to identify as: **(1) not at all** *to* **(5) very important**
3. How central in your life is it for you to be: **(1) not at all** *to* **(5) very central**
    - Muslim?
    - Turkish?
    - Western?
    - Global?
    - Male/Female?
    - Gay/Straight?

1. Manipulation text pro-globalisation.

Globalisation is becoming increasingly prevalent, and it brings lots of benefits to people wherever it goes. Global culture, a product of globalisation, is thought to be inclusive and influential in promoting human rights, civil liberties, political freedom, and fair treatment of minorities. With the increasing development in global information technologies, people from different parts of the world can be connected to each other using social media and the Internet. People also benefit from the ease of mobility by visiting different countries, and making friends across the globe. All these increase global connectivity, enable multi-culturalism, and provide people with a sense of global community which they can connect to when they need.
When globalisation alters traditional ways of life, people's choices become based less on constraining traditional values and more on their individual decisions. When people are allowed to make their own choices about values, love, and work, they will be more likely to choose those options congruent with their own desires and abilities. Overall, globalisation is known to promote this harmony and help people express themselves in their own ways.

Although global culture is becoming increasingly prevalent, we know little about what aspects of global culture individuals think are the most powerful ones. Please, rank the next 4 statements in the list below in accordance of how powerful they are.

1. Global culture promotes a sense of global community.
2. Global culture makes it easier for people to connect all over the world.
3. Global culture gives voice to people under oppression for any reason.
4. Global culture facilitates independence, freedom, and liberation of ideas and identities.

2. Manipulation text anti-globalisation.

Globalisation is becoming increasingly prevalent, and it brings lots of inequalities to people wherever it goes. Global culture, a product of globalisation, is thought to be assimilatory and creating conflicts in economic and social relationships, increasing poverty, and favouring the rich and the elite. With the rapid spread of global consumerist brands and companies, people spend lots of money on goods that are not locally produced or do not contribute to their own economy. People become trapped in consumerism and big exploitative powers. All these increase conflicts between cultures, push loss of cultural diversity, and contribute to major calamities like global warming.
When globalisation alters traditional ways of life, people's choices become based less on their own traditional values and more assimilated to imposed global standards. People's choices about values, love, and work are likely to be affected by external cultural influences which may contaminate their local cultural values. Overall, globalisation is known to create conflict and suppress people from expressing themselves in their own cultural ways.

Although global culture is becoming increasingly prevalent, we know little about what aspects of global culture individuals think are the most powerful. Please, rank the next 4 statements in the list below in accordance of how powerful they are.

1. Global culture causes the loss of cultural diversity.
2. Global culture creates social and economic inequalities.
3. Globalisation contributes to big calamities like global warming.
4. Global culture encourages people to become consumerist.

Post-Manipulation Global Identification Items

Below are some statements about global identity. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

(1) Strongly disagree *to* **(5) strongly agree**

1. I would describe myself as a global citizen. (Reysen and colleagues)
2. To be a global citizen is important for me. (Rosenmann, 2016)
3. I have a lot common with the global citizens/people. (Leach et al., 2008)
4. I see myself as a world citizen (WVS)
5. I feel strongly connected to the world community as a whole (Reese, Proch, and Cohrs, 2014)
6. I identify with the citizens of the world (Postmes et al., 2013)

Masculinity ratings

Here is a list of attributes that can be used to describe people. Please read each attribute and select a point showing how essential/important each one is for being a **MAN**. For example, if it is absolutely essential **not** to be like this attribute, then select -4. If you think it is absolutely essential to be like this, then select 4. If you think that it doesn't matter one way or the other, then select 0. You can also select other options that correspond to what you think.

How essential do you think it is **<u>for a man</u> to be, or not to be, the following**

-4: absolutely essential not to be like this
-3: very important not to be like this
-2: important not to be like this
-1: somewhat better not to be like this
0: doesn't matter at all whether one is like this or not
1: somewhat better to be like this
2: important to be like this
3: very important to be like this
4: absolutely essential to be like this

1. powerful/strong
2. masculine
3. dominant
4. protective
5. manly
6. muscular
7. traditional
8. effeminate
9. homosexual
10. heterosexual
11. supportive
12. empathetic
13. responsible
14. egalitarian
15. independent
16. open-minded
17. creative
18. fashionable
19. expressive
20. sensitive
21. romantic
22. passionate
23. faithful
24. confident
25. emotional

Outness Scale

Use the following rating scale to indicate how open you are about your sexual orientation to the people listed below. Try to respond to all of the items, but leave items blank if they do not apply to you.
1 = person definitely does NOT know about your sexual orientation status
2 = person might know about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
3 = person probably knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
4 = person probably knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
5 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
6 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is SOMETIMES talked about
7 = person definitely knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is OPENLY talked about
0 = not applicable to your situation; there is no such person or group of people in your life

- mother
- father
- siblings (sisters, brothers)
- extended family/relatives
- my new straight friends
- my work peers
- my work supervisor(s)
- members of my religious community (e.g., church, temple)
- leaders of my religious community (e.g., church, temple)
- strangers, new acquaintances
- my old heterosexual friends
- people I met online through social networks (e.g., Facebook, Instagram)

Measure of internalized sexual stigma for gay men, MISS-LG

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer as honestly as possible: there are no right or wrong answers.

(1) Strongly disagree *to* **(5) Strongly agree**

1. I would not tell my friends that I am gay because I would be afraid of losing them.
2. When I like a man, I do anything to prevent people from finding out.
3. I'm worried to understand whether I like women.
4. I am careful of what I wear and what I say to avoid showing my homosexuality.
5. When I have sex with a man, I feel awkward.
6. If it were possible, I would do anything to change my sexual orientation.
7. When I realize that I am demonstrating feminine behaviour, I feel embarrassed.
8. I do not believe in love between homosexuals.
9. I would prefer to be heterosexual.
10. When I feel attracted to another gay man, I hope no one realizes it.
11. If you are gay, it is better to have an "active" sexual role.
12. The thought of being gay makes me feel depressed.
13. It is difficult for me to say that I am gay, including to someone I know.
14. Gay men can only have flings/one-night stands.
15. Sometimes I think that if I were heterosexual, I could be happier.
16. At university (and/or at work), I pretend to be heterosexual (pretending to be attracted to women or showing typically male interests).
17. Effeminate gay men annoy me.

Gay-affirmative social context items

Below are some statements about social spaces. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

(1) Strongly disagree *to* **(5) strongly agree**

- I belong to social environments where I can comfortably express my gay identity.
- Because of my gay identity, I feel rejected by other people, who matter to me.
- I have social environments that accept me as a gay man.
- There are people in my life who accept me as a gay man.

Gay-male identity integration scale

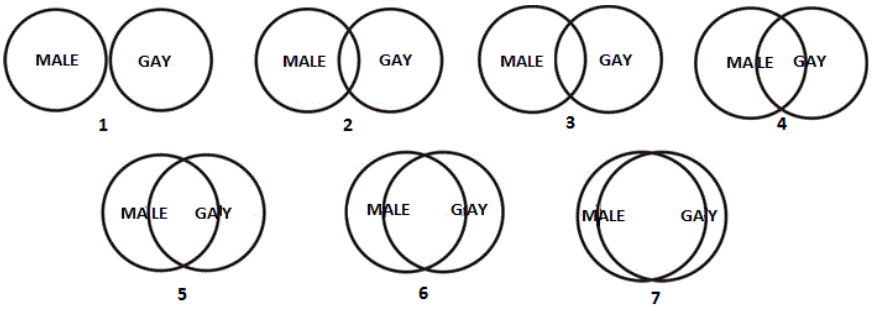
Below are some statements about social spaces. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

(1) Strongly disagree *to* **(5) strongly agree**

1. Both gay and male identities make me who I am.
2. It is impossible for me to ignore the gay or male side of me.
3. I feel gay and male at the same time.
4. I find it difficult to combine gay and male identities.
5. I do not blend my gay and male identities.
6. Being both gay and male is like being divided into two parts.
7. I find it easy to reconcile my gay and male identities.
8. I feel there is no conflict between my gay and male identities.
9. My gay and male identities are compatible.
10. My gay and male identities are complementary.
11. I feel torn between gay and male identities.
12. It is effortful to be gay and male at the same time.
13. Being both gay and male means having two identities pulling me in different directions.
14. My gay and male identities are incompatible.

Gay-male compatibility circles

Below are some circles which show how man and gay identities might relate to one another. Please choose the picture that best describes how you think these two identities are related to one another.



Narrowness of gender identity (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014)

Below are some statements about homosexuality. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements below by selecting one point on the scale.

(1) Strongly disagree *to* **(5) strongly agree**

1. Homosexuality is contrary to being a man.
2. Masculinity may as well be embodied in a gay man as in a straight man.
3. A gay man/ is also a 'real' man.

Subjective Wellbeing (Positive and negative affect (AVI) + Satisfaction with life (single-item)

- *Affect Valuation Index*

Listed below are a number of words that describe feelings. Some of the feelings are very similar to each other, whereas others are very different from each other. Read each word and, using the following scale, rate how much you have each feeling RIGHT NOW:

(1) not at all to (5) entirely

- Happy
- Satisfied
- Content
- Sad
- Lonely
- Unhappy

- *Satisfaction with life*

Below is a statement with which you may agree or disagree. Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by using the scale below.

(1) Strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree

- Right now, I am satisfied with my life.

APPENDIX 3

Study 3. Kurdish Identity Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1) First of all, can you tell me about yourself?
   a) Probe: Could you describe me, in as much detail as possible, how you describe yourself?
      i) How old are you?
      ii) Where did you born?
      iii) Where did you grow up?
      iv) What is your educational status?
      v) What do you do for work?
   b) Probe: Can you now tell me about family?
      i) What kind of family you have? (e.g., traditional, progressive, etc.)
      ii) How is your relation to them?
      iii) How much have they been effective on who you are today?
2) I would now like to talk about your ethnic background. What is it to be a Kurdish person?
   a) Probe: How do you define Kurdishness? (What makes one a Kurd?)
   b) What does it involve to be Kurdish? Can you give examples?
   c) How do you relate to this ethnic identity?
   d) How important for you to be Kurdish?
   e) How important for you to state that you are Kurdish?
3) How would you describe Kurdish culture?
   a) Probes: Can you give me examples of customs, practices, and traditions?
   b) How much do you feel yourself be a part of Kurdish culture?
   c) What about food? Do you prefer to cook/eat Kurdish food?
   d) What about music? Do you prefer to listen to Kurdish music?
   e) What are the most central Kurdish values you think are?
   f) Among those, do you internalize any of these values?
   g) Would you aspire to be from a different cultural or ethnic background?
4) What languages can you speak?
   a) Probe: Where did you learn it/them?
   b) Which language was spoken at home when you were growing up?
   c) (In cases of Kurdish skills) Which language do you feel more comfortable speaking/using?
   d) (In cases of Kurdish skills) Which language do you prefer in what occasions?
   e) (In cases of no Kurdish skills) Why did you not learn Kurdish?
5) What role does religion play in your life?
   a) Is religion a part of Kurdish identity?
   b) What religions do Kurdish people have?
6) What are your life experiences as a Kurd in Istanbul?

a) How long have you been living here?
b) Why did you/your family come here?
c) Did you have any hardships settling in? Can you give examples?
d) What has changed since you left your homeland?
e) How often do you go back?
f) Do you miss being back there?
g) Are you a part of the Kurdish community in Istanbul?
    i) How do you reminisce your homeland?

7) What do you think about other Kurdish people?
    a) How do Kurdish people represent Kurds in public/society?
    b) Have you ever experienced pride thanks to other Kurds?
    c) Have you ever experienced shame due to other Kurds?
    d) Do you have any other feelings associated with other Kurds?
8) How does being a Kurd feel in relation to being Turkish?
    a) What aspects of being a Kurd make you different than others?
    b) What do other people perceive the Kurdish people? What positive and negative things are associated with Kurdishness?
    c) Do you have any negative experiences associated with your Kurdish identity in Turkey?
    d) Can you give examples for that? (e.g., did you ever have to hide your identity? / have you ever experienced discrimination just because you were Kurd?)
    e) How do you feel you are perceived living as a Kurd in Turkey and particularly in Istanbul/[enter the name of the city]?
        i) Can you give specific examples?
        ii) (In cases of negative perceptions) How do you overcome these (negative) perceptions? / What helps you overcome these (negative) feelings?
9) How do you feel about Kurdish community?
    a) How is Kurdish community changing?
    b) Do you think the Kurdish culture is maintained with respect to customs and traditions?
        i) How do you think the Kurdish community has changed from the past to today? Do you think it has been for better or worse?
        ii) What do you think about Kurdish youth? Do you think they are promising for the continuation of real Kurdish identity?
    c) What would you want to do/change for the continuation of real Kurdish identity?

10) Are there any other points you would like to add?

APPENDIX 4

Study 4. Kurdish Nostalgia

(Participants read only one of the following four)

Experimental groups

Condition 1 – Unexperienced Collective Nostalgia
The term 'nostalgia' means a sentimental longing for the good old days. People sometimes sentimentally long for *how Kurds used to live in the past*; for those good old days. For instance, they long for the way Kurdish society was, how daily life looked like, and how people interacted with each other. Do you sometimes long for those good old days before you were born, which you have never seen/experienced but heard through stories? Please bring to mind the good and nice things about Kurdish life in the past that you have heard from others. Which things from the historical Kurdish past, before you were born, evoke nostalgia in you? Please write down what you miss from those good old days and how much this makes you feel nostalgic (use 4 sentences maximum).

Condition 2 – Experienced Collective Nostalgia
The term 'nostalgia' means a sentimental longing for the good old days. People sometimes sentimentally long for how Kurds used to live in the past; for those good old days. For instance, they long for the way Kurdish society was, how daily life looked like, and how people interacted with each other. Do you sometimes long for those good old days that you remember from your own past? Please bring to mind the good and nice things about Kurdish life in the past that you remember from your own experience. Which things from your own memories of Kurds' past evoke nostalgia in you? Please write down what you miss from those good old days and how much this makes you feel nostalgic (use 4 sentences maximum).

Condition 3 – Prospective Nostalgia
The term 'nostalgia' means a sentimental longing for the good old days. People sometimes sentimentally long for how Kurds used to live in the past; for those good old days; and they imagine a future that could be just like that again. For instance, they long for the way Kurdish society was, how daily life looked like, and how people interacted with each other. Do you sometimes long for those good old days and desire a similar future? Please bring to mind the good and nice things about Kurdish life in the past that you want to see again in the future. Which things from this Kurdish past would you long for in the future? Please write down what you miss from those good old days and how much this makes you feel longing for a similar future. (use 4 sentences maximum).

Condition 4 – Control
Please bring to mind a past event *involving Kurdish people*. Try to think about this event as if you were an eye witness. Specifically, try to envisage this event as if you were an historian who wants to record all facts about the *Kurdish* past. Please write about this event below, being as factual, clear, and detailed as possible. (use 4 sentences maximum).

Manipulation check (adapted from Wildschut et al., 2006) – 4 items
Please answer each question by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

7-point scale (1 – strongly disagree, 7 - strongly agree).

1. Right now, I am feeling quite nostalgic about those good old days of Kurds before I was born.
2. Right now, I am having nostalgic feelings about my memories of Kurdish past.
3. Right now, I am longing for a future for Kurdish people that is similar to good old days.
4. I feel nostalgic at the moment.

Individual level identity motives (SIMS) – 24 items

There are individual differences in the types of sensations and feelings people experience at particular points in time. We are interested in how you are feeling right now, at the present moment.

9-point scale

(1-9; using Not at all, A little, Moderately, A lot, Entirely)

Right now, how much do you feel...

1. … a sense of continuity between past, present and future in your life
2. … connected to who you were in the past and who you will be in the future
3. … that there is not much continuity in your life
4. … disconnected from who you were in the past, or might be in the future
5. … that your life is meaningful
6. … your life as a whole has meaning.
7. … that your life is meaningless
8. … that there is no meaning in your life
9. … satisfied with yourself
10. … that you have high self-esteem
11. … that you do not respect yourself
12. … that it is unpleasant to think about yourself
13. … distinctive
14. … distinguishable from others
15. … indistinguishable from others
16. … that you are not distinctive
17. … included
18. … accepted
19. … excluded
20. … rejected by others
21. … confident to achieve your goals
22. … in control
23. … unable to fulfil your goals
24. … unable to deal with challenges

Group identity motives (Group level) – 24 items

Please indicate the extent to which each statement describes your perceptions about Kurdish people by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

1. Kurds are good people
2. Kurds have a number of good qualities
3. Kurdish people are not valuable
4. Kurds have some negative qualities
5. Kurds are different from other ethnic groups
6. Kurds are unique
7. Kurds are similar to other ethnic groups
8. Kurds don't have a distinctive identity
9. Kurds are accepted by others
10. Kurds are a part of this society
11. Kurds don't fit in this society
12. Kurds are rejected by other groups
13. Kurds have a meaningful identity
14. Kurds do not have a meaningful identity
15. I know very well what it means to be Kurdish
16. It is not very clear what it means to be Kurdish
17. Kurds have an identity that comes from the past to today and from today to the future
18. Kurdish identity builds on a legacy
19. Kurds did not preserve their traditions and customs over time
20. Kurds do not have continuity from the past to future
21. Kurds successfully achieve everything they do
22. Kurds deal with challenges well
23. Kurds face difficulty in achieving their goals
24. Kurds are powerless

- *Entitativity items*
    1. Kurds are unified/interconnected
    2. Kurdish people stick together
    3. Kurds are not inclusive of other Kurds
    4. Kurds are divided amongst themselves

Ingroup Identification (Leach et al., 2008; Becker and Tausch, 2014) - 24 items
Please answer each question by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

1. I feel a distance between myself and Kurds.
2. I feel disloyal to Kurds.
3. I regret that I belong to this group
4. I think Kurds have nothing to be proud of.
5. I am unhappy about being Kurdish.
6. Being Kurdish gives me a bad feeling.
7. Being Kurdish never comes to my mind.
8. The fact that I am Kurdish is not core to my identity.
9. Being Kurdish is nothing to do with how I see myself.
10. I have nothing in common with Kurds.
11. I am dissimilar to an average Kurdish person.
12. Kurds do not have much in common.
13. Kurds are very diverse from each other.
14. I feel solidarity with Kurds.
15. I feel committed to Kurds.
16. I am glad to be Kurdish.
17. I think that Kurds have a lot to be proud of.
18. It is pleasant to be Kurdish.
19. Being Kurdish gives me a good feeling.
20. I often think about the fact that I am Kurdish.
21. The fact that I am Kurdish is an important part of my identity
22. Being Kurdish is an important part of how I see myself.
23. I have a lot in common with Kurds.
24. I am similar to the average Kurdish person.
25. Kurds have a lot in common.
26. Kurds are very similar to each other

Cognitive alternatives (adapted from Zhang et al., 2012)
Please answer each question by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

1. In the future, Kurds will have the same opportunities as other people
2. In the future, Kurds will be treated equally as other people
3. In the future, Kurds will be able to use Kurdish freely in any aspect of their lives.
4. In the future, Kurds will not be socially accepted as equals in society

Subjective Wellbeing (Positive and negative affect (AVI) + Satisfaction with life (single-item)

- *Affect Valuation Index*

Listed below are a number of words that describe feelings. Some of the feelings are very similar to each other, whereas others are very different from each other. Read each word and, using the following scale, rate how much you have each feeling RIGHT NOW:

(1) not at all to (5) entirely

- Happy
- Satisfied
- Content
- Sad
- Lonely
- Unhappy

- *Satisfaction with life*

Below is a statement with which you may agree or disagree. Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by using the scale below.

(1) Strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree

- Right now, I am satisfied with my life.

- **Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan and Frederickson, 1997)**

Please answer each question by using the response scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

1. I feel alive and vital
2. I don't feel very energetic
3. I am so alive right now I just want to burst
4. I have energy and spirit
5. I look forward to each new day
6. I nearly always feel awake and alert
7. I feel energized

Demographics

Your age (in completed years): _____

Your gender:
- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female

Your sexual orientation:
- ❍ Homosexual
- ❍ Bisexual
- ❍ Heterosexual
- ❍ Other _____

Your relationship status:
- ❍ single
- ❍ in an open relationship
- ❍ in a committed relationship
- ❍ other _____

Country of birth: _____

How long have you lived in Turkey? _____years

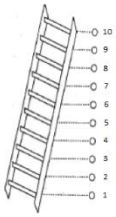
What is your nationality? _____

Are you Kurdish?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No, please specify your ethnic group:

Are you currently a student?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

What is your occupation? _____

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in Turkey. At the top of the ladder are people who are the best off, those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are those who have the least money, least education, and worst jobs or no job.



Please type in the number of the rung that best represents where you think you stand on the ladder.

Do you belong to a religion?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

What is your religion?

- ❍ Sunni-Muslim
- ❍ Alevi
- ❍ Christian
- ❍ Jewish
- ❍ Other (please specify)

Please answer the following questions.

4. How often do you consider yourself to be Muslim: (1) never to (5) always
5. How important is it for you to identify as Muslim: (1) not at all to (5) very important
6. How central in your life is it for you to be Muslim: (1) not at all to (5) very central

What is your political orientation?

- ❍ Conservative to Progressive (from 1 to 100)